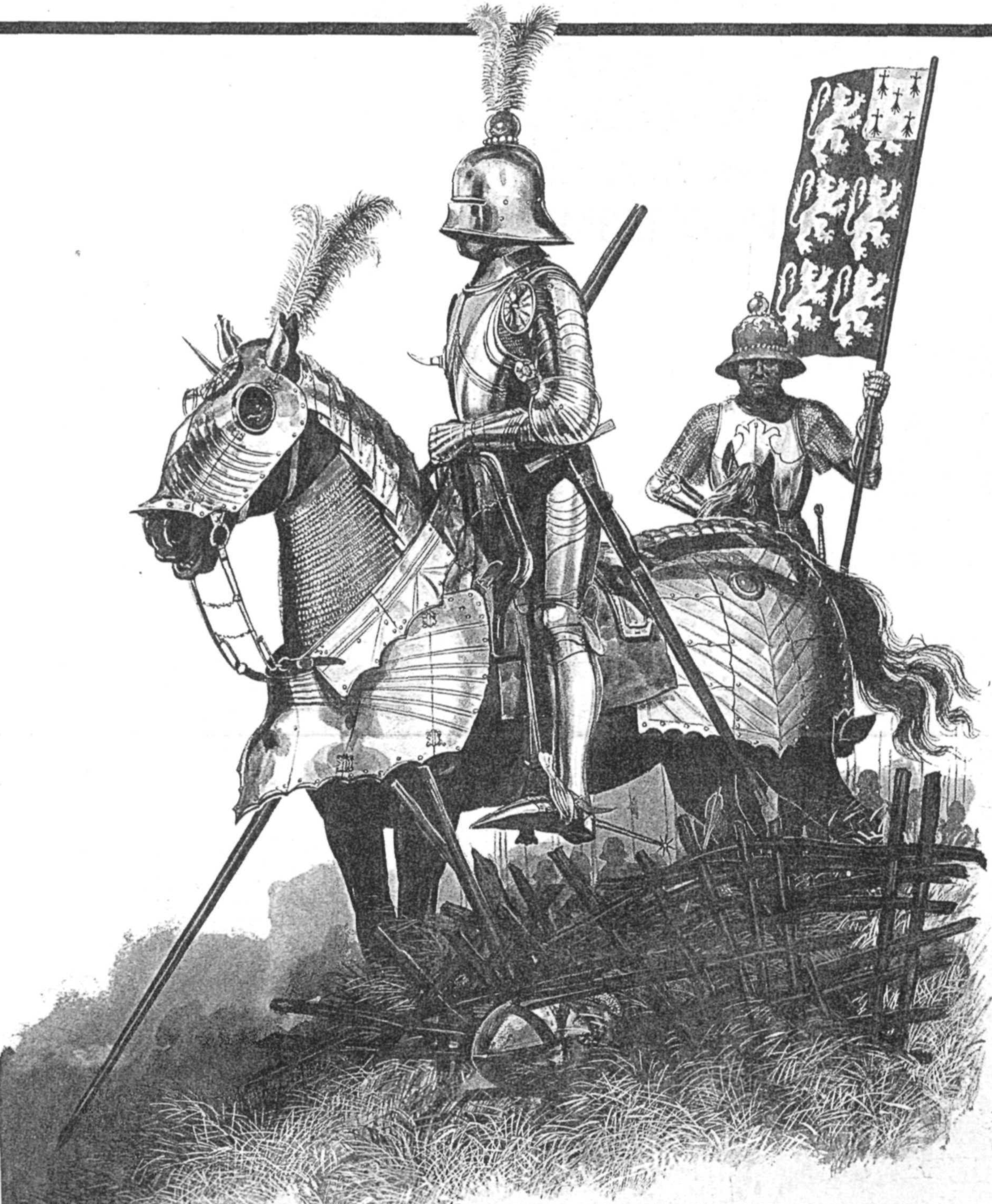
OSPREY
MILITARY

MEN-AT-ARMS SERIES 145

THE WARS OF THE ROSES



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The Wars of the Roses

Introduction

The civil wars known as the Wars of the Roses were fought between Yorkshire and Lancashire, identified by white and red roses respectively, and lasted thirty bloody years, inflicting great damage to the land and its people and killing so many of the aristocracy that a new nobility had to be created in the reign of Henry VII—a good king who brought peace and prosperity to his kingdom, unlike his predecessor, the usurper Richard III, who stole the throne by deceit and foul murders. On the battlefields the longbow reigned supreme, while the knights and men-at-arms waddled around encased entirely in cumbersome plate armour, or rode great horses also wearing plate armour.

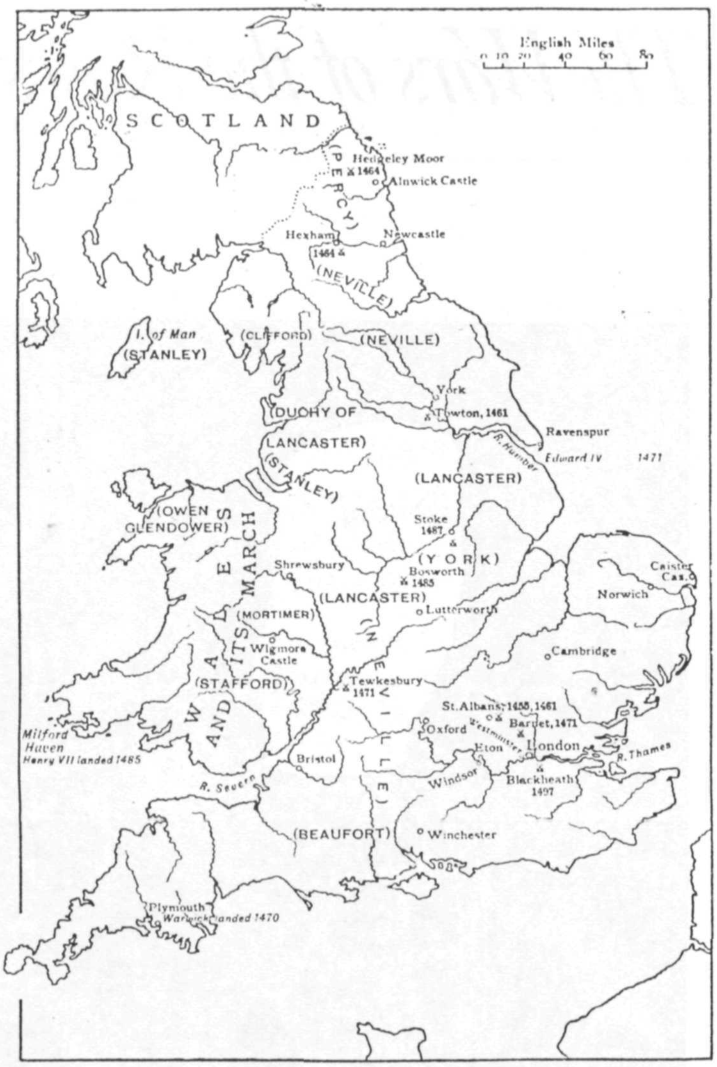
A familiar story perhaps: yet containing not a word of truth.

In the 16th century English history was rewritten to please Henry Tudor, or at least to avoid his displeasure, and to assist in settling the Tudor dynasty firmly on the throne after the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses. Consequently, a number of popular but quite erroneous beliefs about these wars survive to this day. Before venturing into a general summary of the wars, I should like to deal with the misconceptions outlined in the opening paragraph.

Edward IV, King of England 1461–83, won the throne with the aid of the Duke of Warwick, whom he later killed in battle. He had Henry VI murdered in prison in the same year. Edward's morals were dubious, his marriage disreputable, and his greed inordinate. He gained financial independence from Parliament by a brief French war in 1475, which brought in an annual subsidy thereafter of 20,000 crowns from Louis XI. (National Portrait Gallery)

A civil war is one in which men fight and kill their countrymen, and in this respect the Wars of the Roses might properly be called a civil war. But these wars were in reality a dynastic struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster, and involved only the aristocratic families of these houses and their followers. Rather than a civil war, these campaigns represented a prolonged struggle for power between two political parties, both of which accepted the unity of the kingdom and the existing system of government by King, Council and Parliament. Neither party sought to destroy or divide the royal authority of the kingdom, as was the case with civil wars on the Continent; but rather to obtain power over the Council and through it to govern the country.

Thus the wars were fought by the great barons, particularly the feuding 'Marcher' barons of the border regions, with the aid of their private armies. To some extent at least they differed from other wars of the era, civil or international, in that the ordinary people of the country were left as undisturbed as possible, for the victors wished to control a thriving kingdom with a populace which would support them against their rivals. As Philippe de Commyne noted in his memoirs:


English Miles
0 10 20 40 60 80
SCOTLAND
Hedgeley Moor 1464
Alnwick Castle
(PERCY)
Hexham 1464
Newcastle
(NEVILLE)
I. of Man (STANLEY)
(CLIFFORD)
(NEVILLE)
York
Towton, 1461
DUCHY OF LANCASTER)
Ravenspur
Edward IV 1471
R. Humber
(STANLEY)
(LANCASTER)
(OWEN GLENDOWER)
WALES AND ITS MARCH
Stoke 1487
(YORK)
Shrewsbury
Bosworth 1485
Caister Cas.
Norwich
(LANCASTER)
Lutterworth
(MORTIMER)
Wigmore Castle
Cambridge
(STAFFORD)
Tewkesbury 1471
MIDLANDS
St. Albans, 1455, 1461
Barnet, 1471
Milford Haven
Henry VII landed 1485
Oxford
Westminster
Eton
London
R. Thames
Bristol
R. Severn
Windsor
Blackheath 1497
(BEAUFORT)
Winchester
Plymouth
Warwick landed 1470

Map 1: England in the 15th century, showing the areas of influence of the great baronial families, and the main battle sites.

> 'It is the custom of the English that, once they have gained a battle, they do no more killing, especially killing of common people; for each side seeks to please the commons . . . King Edward told me that in all the battles he had won, the moment he came to victory he mounted a horse and shouted that the commons were to be spared and the nobles slain. And of the latter, few or none escaped... The realm of England enjoys one favour above all other realms, that neither the countryside nor the people are destroyed nor are buildings burnt or demolished. Misfortune falls on soldiers and nobles in particular . . .'

The Wars of the Roses are generally dated as lasting from 1455 until 1485, a total of 30 years of war—though this figure may be divided into three periods of actual conflict: 1455–64, 1469–71, and 1483–87. Actual campaigning time during these years has been estimated as 428 days (Goodman, pp. 227-8: see Bibliography). Fighting erupted only to subside quickly; the longest campaign lasted four months (Wakefield to Towton), and even Edward's campaign to seize the throne lasted only two months—from his landing at Ravenspur to the battle of Tewkesbury.

From the above it may be seen that the images of bloody and prolonged fighting, massacres and other evils associated with civil wars, do not apply to the Wars of the Roses: today's historians tend to believe that the image of a land ravaged by civil war was painted by Tudor propagandists in order to contrast earlier reigns with the peace and prosperity enjoyed under Henry VII.

But the aristocracy suffered dreadfully. Or did it? Although many nobles were killed, their families were not extinguished in great numbers, as is often claimed, and the old nobility in fact survived the wars. K. B. MacFarlane gives the following figures to illustrate the rate of extinction of noble families:

1425–1449	existing	73
	new	25
		98 – 25 extinctions = 73 (25.51 per cent)
1450–1474	existing	73
	new	22
		95 – 24 extinctions = 71 (25.26 per cent)
1475–1499	existing	71
	new	10
		81 – 20 extinctions = 61 (24.69 per cent)

Certainly 25 per cent is a high rate of extinction; but by no means can it be argued that the nobility died out, and it must be remembered that even the recorded decline owed as much to failure to produce male heirs as to death in war. Yet those at the top certainly did suffer severely: of the 16 great families (dukes and earls) which existed in the last decade of Henry VI's reign, only two were unscathed by the wars—William, Earl of Arundel, who took no part in politics or the wars, and the second Ralph

Neville, Earl of Westmorland, who was a simpleton.

Confusion also exists over the naming of the two parties—York and Lancaster. At this date the Yorkists drew most of their support from the Midlands, whilst the Lancastrians were predominant in Yorkshire! It is important to ignore the modern rivalry between the two counties bearing these names, and to remember that York and Lancaster were the titles of the rival dynasties and had little to do with geographical locations.

Even the name of the wars is false, for the brawls of the period were not graced with such a fine-sounding name until long after the events: the name was apparently invented by Sir Walter Scott in the 19th century. Shakespeare's famous scene in the Temple garden (*I Henry VI, II iv*), where the quarrelling nobles pick red and white roses, is to blame for this misconception. The Yorkists certainly used the white rose as *one* of their badges, but there is no evidence that the Lancastrians used a red rose until the very end of the wars.

Personal feuds between the great families further cloud the issue, and one of the most confusing factors here is the way these families changed sides and inter-married, with titles and estates frequently passing to others through heiresses. It is hoped that the following brief summary of events and personalities, together with the genealogical tables, will help to clarify who fought whom, where, when, why, and for what.

The Wars of the Roses

When Henry V died in 1422 he left a son, Henry VI, who was only nine months old. Guardianship of this son fell to Henry V's brothers—John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Bedford became regent in France and pursued the war there, while Gloucester had personal charge of the infant king. Gloucester hoped to become Protector of the Realm, but the Council refused to allow him to assume the full powers of a regent. For the next 20 years there were constant quarrels between Gloucester and the lords of the Council, of whom the chief was the duke's half-uncle, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, the last surviving son of John of Gaunt.

Margaret of Anjou, queen consort of Henry VI. Her husband's attacks of insanity after 1453 left her as effective ruler. She was a vigorous and able leader of the Lancastrian cause until decisively defeated at Tewkesbury in 1471. (Victoria & Albert Museum)

Richard III, brother of Edward IV, upon whose death he was appointed Protector of the Realm. He was credited with personal responsibility for the death of Henry VI, Henry's son, and his own brother Clarence. He usurped the throne in 1483, and Edward's young sons disappeared shortly afterwards. Richard was defeated and killed by Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field in 1485. His true character and alleged crimes are still the subject of some debate, in reaction against the Tudor-inspired campaign to blacken his name. (National Portrait Gallery)

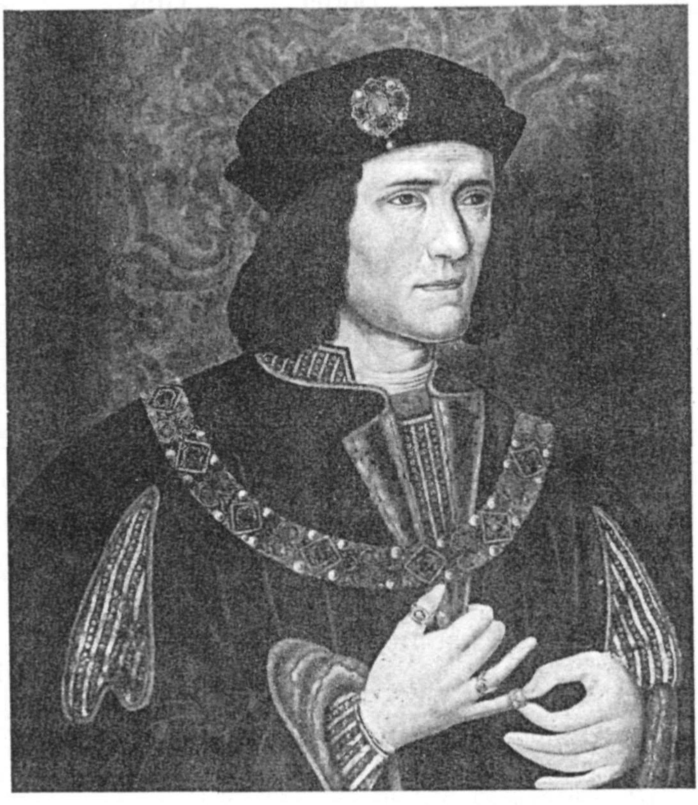


TABLE A: THE HOUSE OF YORK

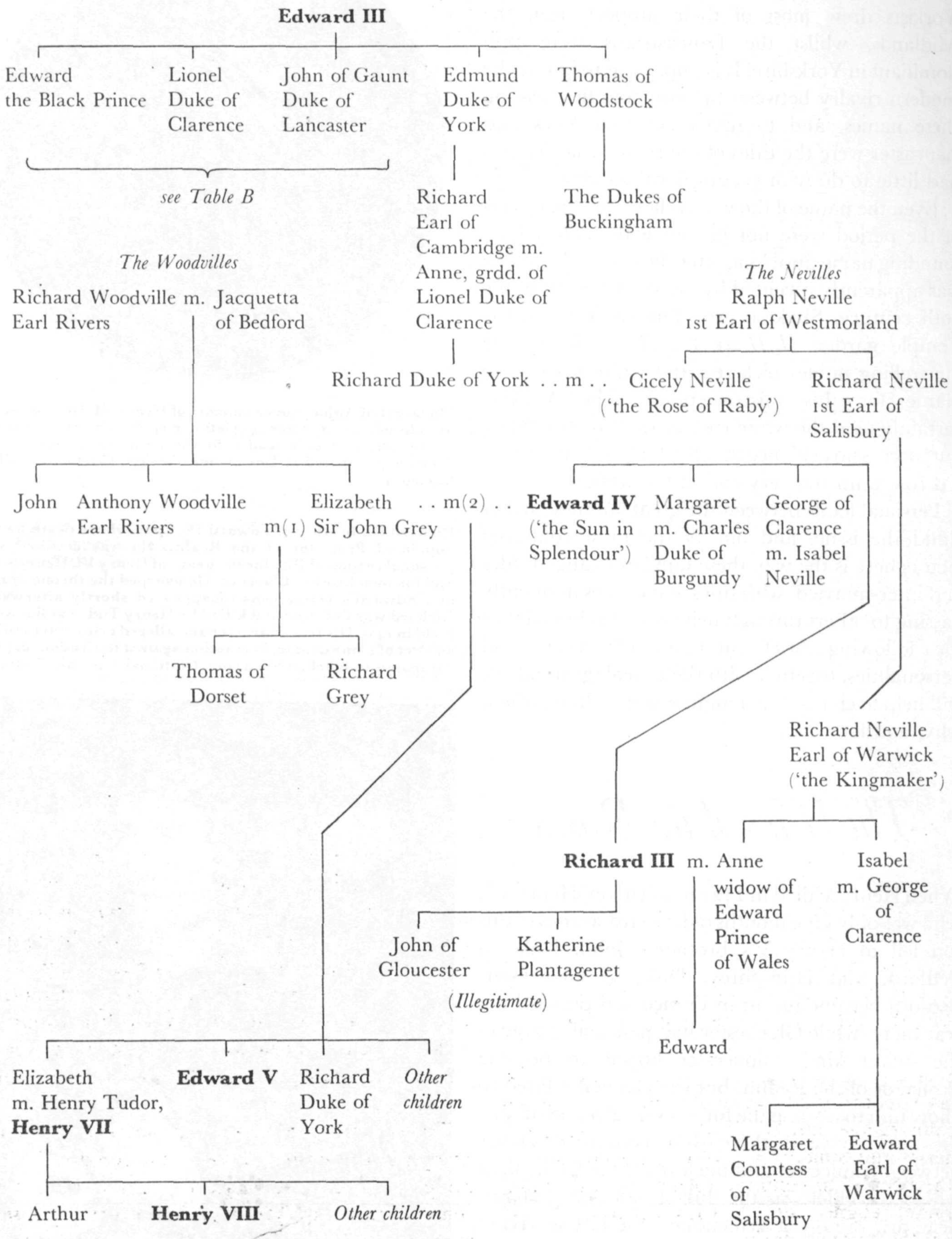
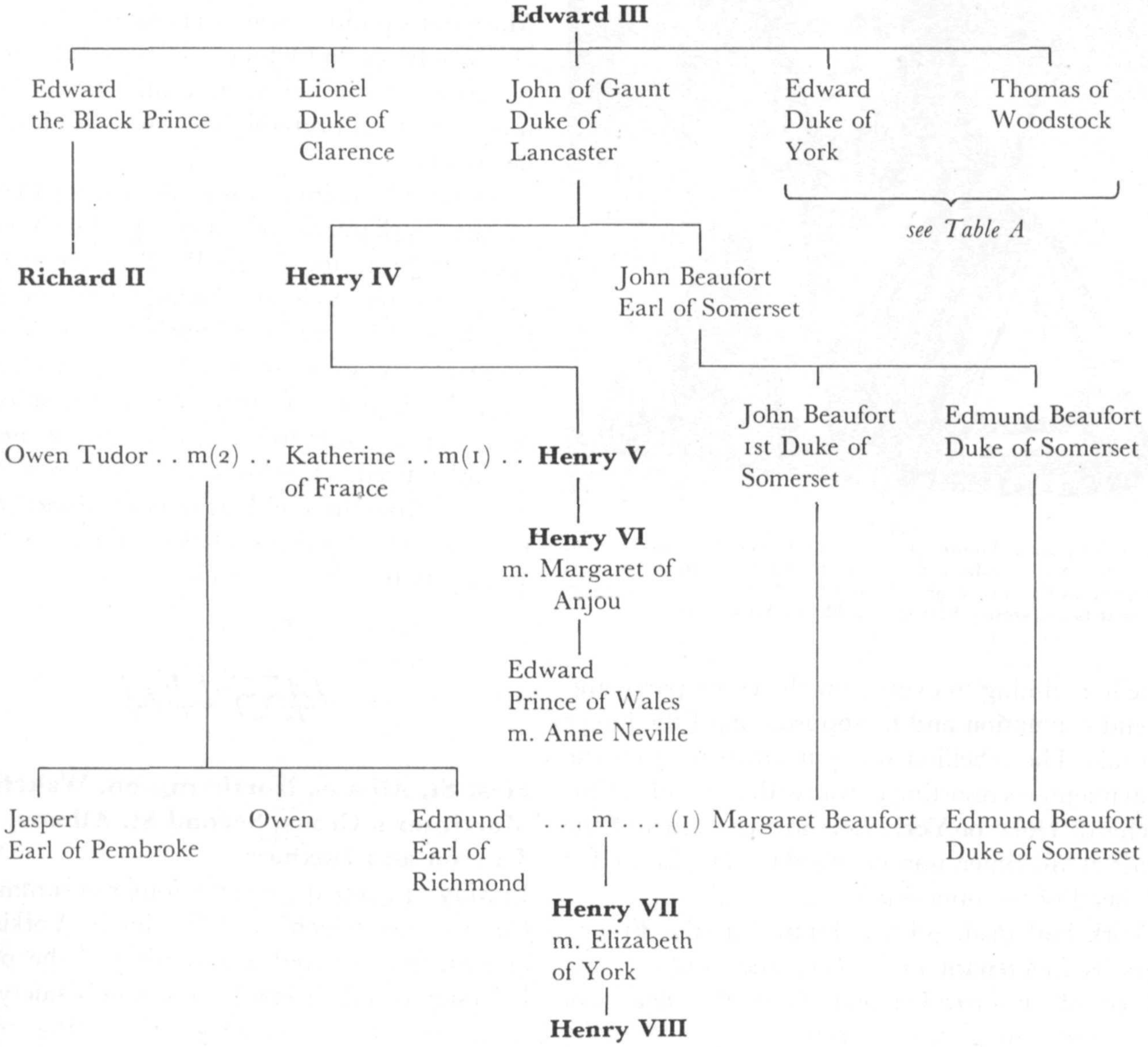

Edward III
Edward the Black Prince
Lionel Duke of Clarence
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster
Edmund Duke of York
Thomas of Woodstock
see Table B
Richard Earl of Cambridge m. Anne, grdd. of Lionel Duke of Clarence
The Dukes of Buckingham
The Woodvilles
Richard Woodville Earl Rivers m. Jacquetta of Bedford
The Nevilles
Ralph Neville 1st Earl of Westmorland
Richard Duke of York . . m . . Cicely Neville ('the Rose of Raby')
Richard Neville 1st Earl of Salisbury
John
Anthony Woodville Earl Rivers
Elizabeth m(1) Sir John Grey
. . m(2) . .
Edward IV ('the Sun in Splendour')
Margaret m. Charles Duke of Burgundy
George of Clarence m. Isabel Neville
Thomas of Dorset
Richard Grey
Richard Neville Earl of Warwick ('the Kingmaker')
Richard III m. Anne widow of Edward Prince of Wales
Isabel m. George of Clarence
John of Gloucester
Katherine Plantagenet
(Illegitimate)
Edward
Elizabeth m. Henry Tudor, Henry VII
Edward V
Richard Duke of York
Other children
Margaret Countess of Salisbury
Edward Earl of Warwick
Arthur
Henry VIII
Other children

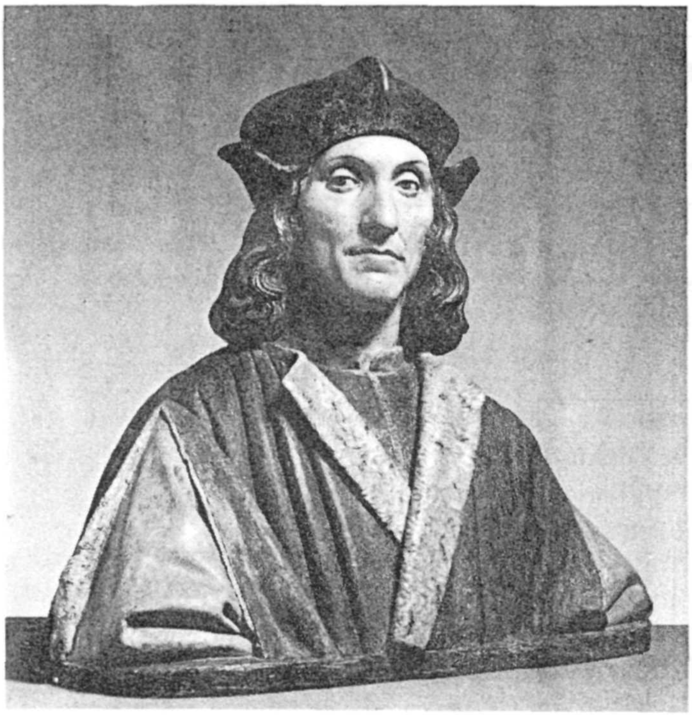
TABLE B: THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND TUDOR


Edward III
Edward the Black Prince
Lionel Duke of Clarence
John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster
Edward Duke of York
Thomas of Woodstock
see Table A
Richard II
Henry IV
John Beaufort Earl of Somerset
John Beaufort 1st Duke of Somerset
Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset
Owen Tudor . . m(2) . . Katherine of France . . m(1) . . Henry V
Henry VI m. Margaret of Anjou
Edward Prince of Wales m. Anne Neville
Jasper Earl of Pembroke
Owen
Edmund Earl of Richmond . . . m . . . (1) Margaret Beaufort
Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset
Henry VII m. Elizabeth of York
Henry VIII

Bedford died at Rouen in 1435. In 1441 the Duchess of Gloucester was successfully accused by Beaufort of practising sorcery against the young king, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Her conviction reduced Gloucester to a minor role in politics; the bishop now controlled the king, aided by his nephew Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou in 1444 when he came of age, but he allowed the unscrupulous Somerset and Suffolk, both of whom were disliked by the people, to continue to manage his realm. Margaret aligned herself with them and soon shared their unpopularity.

The humiliating defeats in France led to a reaction against this ruling faction, and Gloucester emerged from his 'retirement' to lead the opposition. He was arrested and died suddenly in prison, allegedly of a stroke. His estates were distributed among the friends of the queen and her favourite Suffolk. Bishop Beaufort, who had long since relinquished power to Suffolk and Somerset, died six weeks later, in 1447.

The unpopular Suffolk was impeached on many charges and banished: he was murdered while en route to Flanders. Somerset managed to remain in control; but in 1450 Jack Cade's rebellion expressed more violently the feelings of the commons, the



Henry VII, first Tudor monarch of England, who reigned 1485–1509. A descendant of Edward III, he restored the central power of the throne, enforced the rule of law, and organised an efficient tax system. (Victoria & Albert Museum)

rebellion aiming to overthrow the court party and to end corruption and the oppression of the king's officials. The rebellion was put down without the rival magnates resorting to war with each other; but Richard, Duke of York, heir to the claims of the house of Mortimer, now emerged to place himself at the head of the opposition.

York had distinguished himself in the French wars as Lieutenant of France, and was the first prince of the royal blood since the death of Gloucester. He had been replaced in France by Beaufort and banished as Lieutenant of Ireland, with orders not to re-enter the kingdom.

However, in 1450 York did return to England, to impeach Somerset. He was supported by the powerful Neville family; Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Richard, Earl of Warwick. Twice during the next two years York called out his followers to give an armed demonstration in support of his policy, and in 1452 he was arrested. He agreed to abandon his protests and support his opponents in the recovery of Guienne; but in July 1453, at Castillon, the last great battle of the Hundred Years' War was fought, and lost. For the next 30 years England's battles would be fought on her own soil.

In August 1453 there was a major clash at Stamford Bridge between the Percies and the Nevilles, and in the same month Henry VI had an attack of insanity which was to last 16 months. Margaret's position was strengthened by the birth of her only son in October, securing the descent of the crown in the Lancastrian line, yet at the same time this event probably increased the jealousy of her rivals.

Somerset's position was again attacked violently in the Parliament of 1453–54 and York was declared Protector of the Realm once the king's madness could no longer be hidden. Somerset and the Duke of Exeter were imprisoned by York, but when Henry VI recovered his wits in December 1454 York had to surrender his position and Somerset was able to recover control of the king.

York retired to Ludlow Castle and summoned his retainers from the Welsh Marches. He was joined at Ludlow by his brother-in-law the Earl of Salisbury, and by Warwick, with their retainers.

1455-1464

First St. Albans, Northampton, Wakefield, Mortimer's Cross, Second St. Albans, Towton and Hexham

In May 1455 the queen and Somerset summoned a Council, to which no prominent Yorkist was invited, and ordered a gathering of the peers at Leicester to take steps for the king's safety. York marched south to secure a fair hearing from the king, while the court moved towards Leicester, escorted by a large number of nobles and their retainers. The king and Somerset did not learn of York's actions until they were en route to Leicester. They tried to assemble an army, but there was insufficient time; at nightfall on 21 May, when the two sides camped only 20 miles apart, the king's 'army' still consisted of just his escort and their retainers.

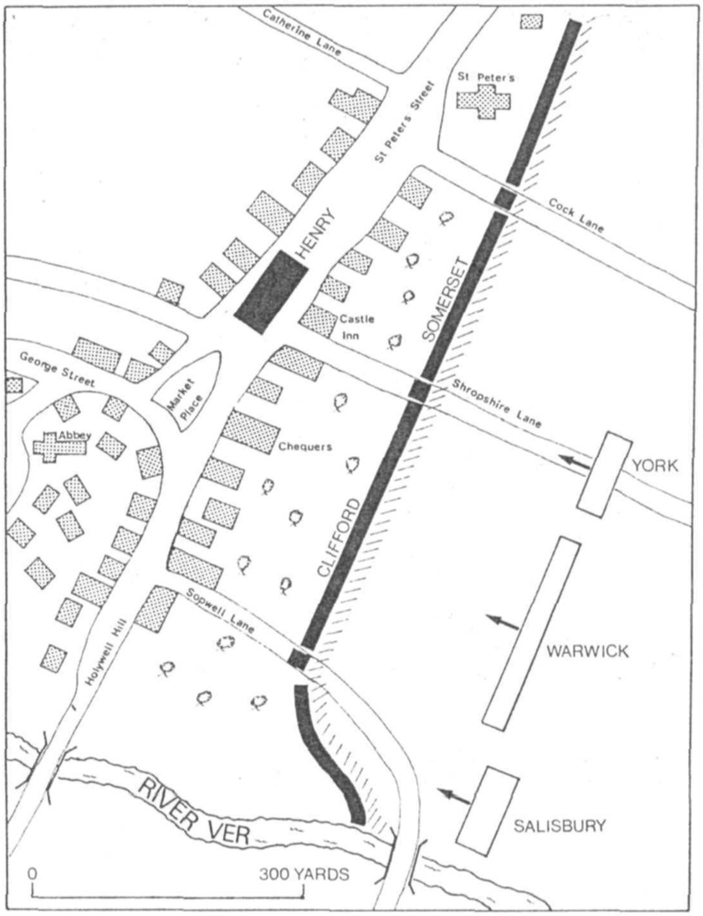
Both sides decided to advance against their adversary during the night, and these marches became a race for the chief town of the area, St Albans. The king's army arrived there at 7am, and York halted at Key Fields, east of the town, at about the same time. There followed a pause of three hours while reconciliation was attempted, York offering to withdraw if the king would surrender Somerset, whom York considered a traitor. The king (i.e. Somerset!) refused, and York ordered the attack: see *Map 2*.

Warwick was to lay down a barrage of arrows in support of flank attacks by York and Salisbury. However, these attacks were repulsed and Warwick therefore ordered his archers to concentrate on their own front. He then attacked the centre, broke through to the Chequers, and here established a rallying point. Falling back to prevent their divided forces from being outflanked by Warwick, the Lancastrians weakened their defence of the Sopwell and Shropshire Lanes, and the forces of York and Salisbury almost immediately burst into the town. The Lancastrians began to falter, panicked, and broke, to be pursued up St. Peter's Street by the triumphant Yorkists.

Somerset and some retainers took cover in the Castle Inn while Lord Clifford, with Percy, Harington and some other knights and esquires, fought on outside the inn. When those outside were slain, Somerset led his men in one last charge. He killed four men before being felled by an axe. The king, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Devon and Dorset were captured; Clifford, Somerset, Stafford, Percy and Harington were amongst those killed.

York was appointed Protector in October and Warwick became Captain of Calais, the city which possessed the only standing army of the king. For the next three years there was an uneasy peace. York lost the protectorship at the beginning of 1456 and returned to Ireland. Margaret gained control of court and government, but Warwick refused to surrender Calais to her, and this city thus became a refuge for the Yorkists, from which an attack might be launched at any time.

In the late summer of 1459 both sides began arming again, and in October York's forces were defeated at Ludford—mainly due to the treachery of Andrew Trollope, captain of a body of professional soldiers sent over from Calais by Warwick. York was forced to flee to Ireland again and his troops dispersed.

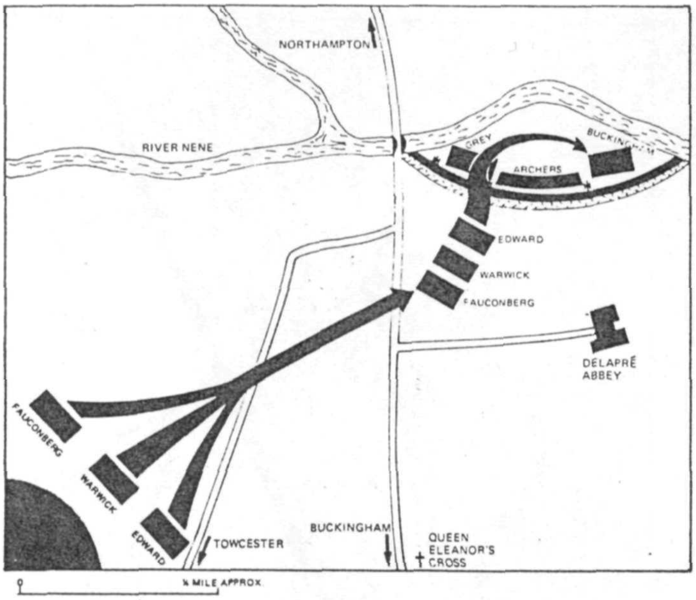


Map 2: First battle of St. Albans, 22 May 1455

In June 1460 Warwick landed at Sandwich with 2,000 men of the Calais garrison, accompanied by the Earl of Salisbury and York's son Edward, Earl of March. The king and queen were at Coventry when they received news of the landing. Hastily gathering an army from his chief supporters—the Percies, Staffords, Beauforts, Talbots and Beaumonts—the king began to march south. However, in the meantime the men of south-east England had flocked to the standard of the popular Warwick, and on 2 July he entered London with 5,000 men. Only the Tower, commanded by Lord Scales, held out for the king and, hearing that London had gone over to the Yorkists, the king halted at Northampton and took up a defensive position to await reinforcements.

Pausing only to establish a siege force round the Tower, Warwick led his army northwards, arriving between Towcester and Northampton on the 9th. Early the next morning—10 July 1460—he deployed for battle, but first attempted to negotiate a settlement. At 2pm, no agreement having proved possible, Warwick gave the order to advance, with the three 'battles' in 'line astern': see *Map 3*.

It was raining hard as the Yorkists arrived and



Map 3: Battle of Northampton, 10 July 1460

Edward's 'battle', consisting entirely of men-at-arms, made slow progress over the sodden ground. As they came withing bow range they were met by a fierce barrage of arrows and this, together with a ditch and stakes, prevented the Yorkists from getting to close quarters. At this critical moment Lord Grey suddenly displayed Warwick's ragged staff badge and ordered his men to lay down their weapons. Indeed, the men of Grey's command actually assisted their enemies over the defences and, once established within the defences in sufficient numbers, Edward and Warwick led their men-at-arms behind the king's archers in the centre to strike Buckingham in flank and rear. Unable to manoeuvre within the narrow confines of the defences, the Lancastrians soon broke and fled, many being drowned in the shallow but wide river at their backs. The Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Shrewbury, Thomas Percy, Lord Beaumont and Lord Egremont were among the Lancastrian dead. The king was captured again, taken to London, and compelled to sanction a Yorkist government.

York arrived from Ireland in mid-September and in October put forward a claim to the throne. The peers rejected his claim (while Henry lived) but made him Protector in view of the king's periods of insanity.

The queen and her son, who had remained at Coventry, fled to north Wales, then to the North, where she began to gather a new army. With these forces she overran Yorkshire, and a large number of Lancastrian supporters from the West Country began to march across the Midlands to join her. York sent his son Edward, Earl of March, to the Welsh borders to recruit an army and to handle the minor local troubles stirred up by the Earl of Pembroke. He left Warwick in London to ensure the capital's support and guard the king; and on 9 December he led the Yorkist army northwards to deal with the queen. He took with him his younger son Edmund and all the artillery then available at the Tower of London.

On the 16th York's 'vaward battle' clashed with the West Countrymen, suffered heavy losses, and was unable to prevent the Lancastrians from moving on to join the queen. Learning that Margaret's main force was at Pontefract Castle, York marched to his castle at Sandal, two miles south of Wakefield and only nine from Pontefract. He arrived at Sandal Castle on the 21st and, learning that the queen's army was now almost four times as numerous as his own, remained in the castle to await reinforcements under Edward. The Lancastrian forces closed round the castle to prevent foraging.

On 30 December 1460 half the Lancastrian army advanced against Sandal Castle as if to make an assault, but under cover of this movement the 'vaward battle', commanded by the Earl of Wiltshire, and the cavalry under Lord Roos, unobtrusively took up positions in the woods flanking the open fields.

York, believing the entire Lancastrian army to be before him, and much smaller than he had been told, deployed for open battle, and led his troops straight down the slope from the castle to launch an attack on Somerset's line. The Lancastrians fell back before the advance, drawing the Yorkists into the trap, finally halting to receive the charge at the position shown on *Map 4*.

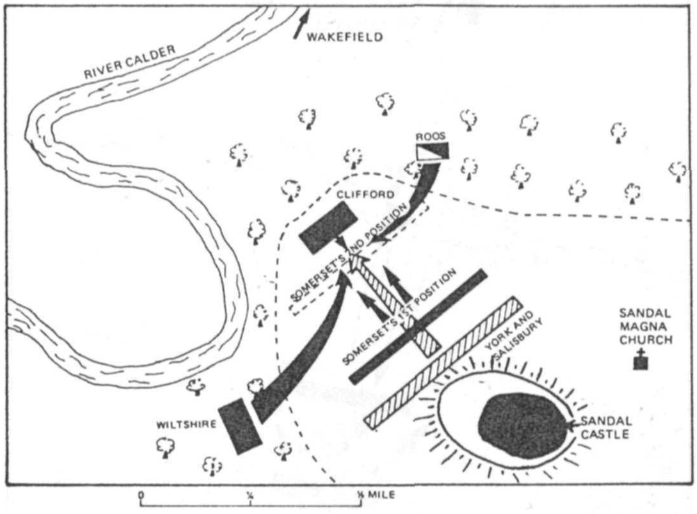
The Yorkist charge almost shattered Somerset's line and the Lancastrian reserve under Clifford had to be committed to stem the advance. But then Wiltshire and Roos charged from the flanks, and the battle was over. York, his son Edmund, his two uncles Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir Thomas Neville (son of Salisbury), Harington, Bourchier and Hastings were among those killed. The Earl of Salisbury was captured, and subsequently beheaded by the Percies because of their feud with the Nevilles.

The death of Richard of York was a severe blow to the Yorkists; but Warwick in London and Edward, now Duke of York, in the Welsh Marches, were both raising new armies. In the Welsh Marches, in particular, men flocked to Edward's banner to avenge Richard and their own lords who had died with him, and by the end of January 1461 Edward had a fair-sized army gathered round Hereford.

From here he set out to unite with Warwick, probably at Warwick Castle, in order to halt the queen's march on the capital. However, shortly after starting out he learned that the Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire were moving towards Worcester from the west with a large force and, in order to avoid being caught between two Lancastrian armies, Edward moved northwards 17 miles to Mortimer's Cross, not far from Ludlow and only three and a half miles from his own castle at Wigmore, ancestral home of the Mortimers. Here the River Lugg, flowing south to join the Wye, was bridged for the main road from central Wales and the Roman road from Hereford, the two roads meeting close by the bridge. Edward deployed his army at this important crossroads and river crossing early on the morning of 2 February 1461.

The Lancastrians deployed for battle on the morning of the 2nd and advanced against the Yorkist line about noon. After a fierce struggle the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond succeeded in forcing Edward's right flank back across the road (see *Map 5*), but at the same time Pembroke's 'main battle' was completely defeated by Edward. Ormond's 'battle' reformed and moved on to the centre to support Pembroke but, finding him already defeated, for some inexplicable reason halted and sat down to await the outcome of the fighting on the other flank.

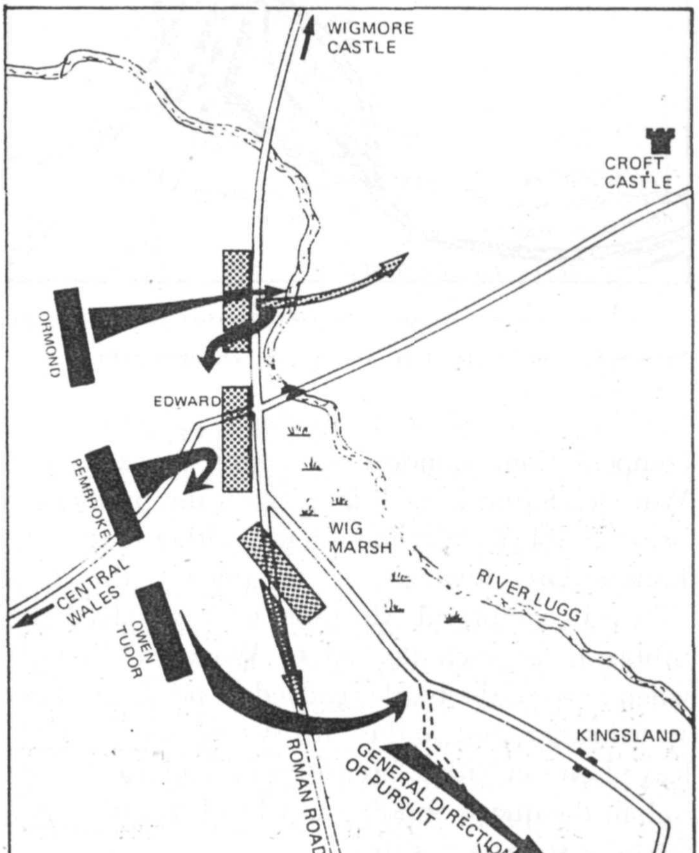
Owen Tudor's 'battle' was the last to become engaged, having swung right in an attempt to outflank the Yorkist position. In carrying out this manoeuvre the Lancastrians exposed their own left flank, and the waiting Yorkists promptly seized the opportunity to charge, cutting the Lancastrians in two and scattering them in all directions. A general retreat by the Lancastrians in the direction of Leominster followed, quickly transformed into a bloody rout by the Yorkists. Owen Tudor was captured and later executed.

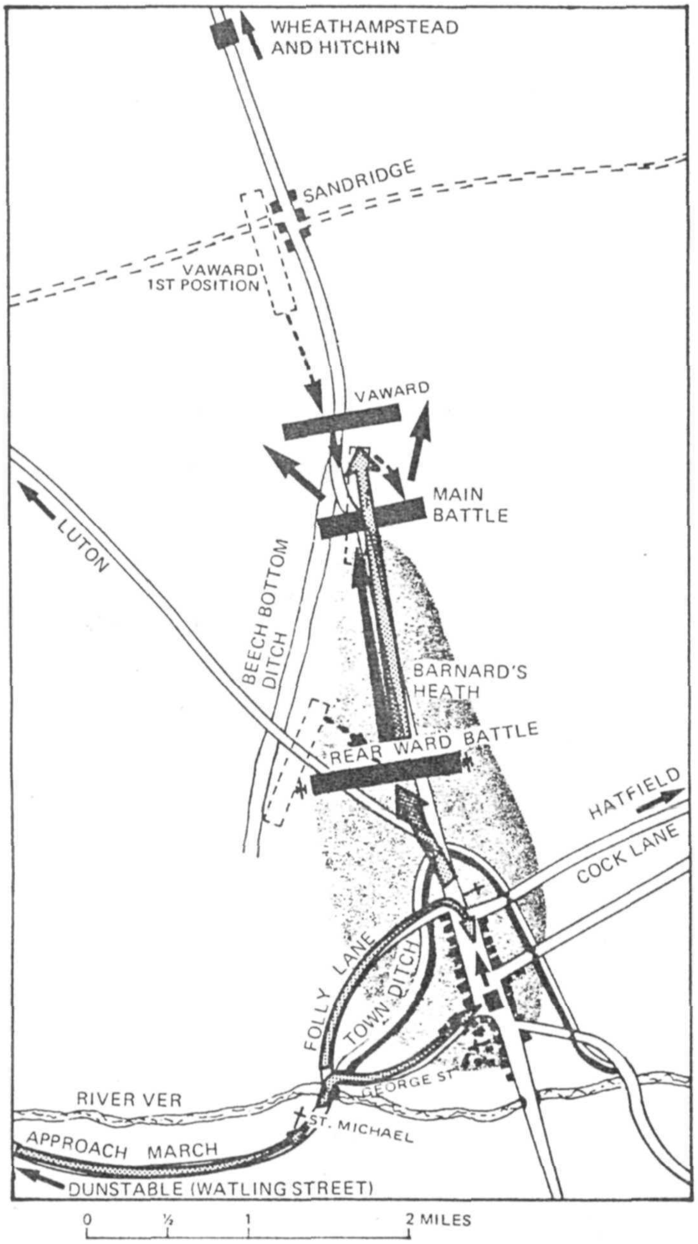

WAKEFIELD
RIVER CALDER
ROOS
CLIFFORD
SOMERSET'S 2ND POSITION
SOMERSET'S 1ST POSITION
YORK AND SALISBURY
SANDAL MAGNA CHURCH
SANDAL CASTLE
WILTSHIRE
0
¼
½ MILE

Map 4: Battle of Wakefield, 30 December 1460

After the battle of Wakefield the queen's army of borderers, Scots, Welsh and mercenaries had begun to march on London, pillaging as it went and leaving a 30-mile-wide swathe of ruin in its wake: Margaret, whose aim was now to rescue the king, was unable to pay her army and had promised them

Map 5: Battle of Mortimer's Cross, 2 February 1461


WIGMORE CASTLE
CROFT CASTLE
ORMOND
EDWARD
PEMBROKE
CENTRAL WALES
OWEN TUDOR
WIG MARSH
RIVER LUGG
KINGSLAND
ROMAN ROAD
GENERAL DIRECTION OF PURSUIT
HEREFORD
LEOMINSTER
0
½
1
2 MILES



Map 6: Second battle of St. Albans, 17 February 1461

the whole of southern England to plunder in compensation. London was panic-stricken, and Warwick found himself faced with the problem of being unable to raise enough men either to stop the Lancastrian advance or to defend the city. Edward's victory at Mortimer's Cross solved this problem, for men flocked to Warwick's banner when news of the battle reached London on about 10 February; and on the 12th Warwick was able to leave London with a force large enough to attempt to halt the queen, sending word to Edward to join forces as soon as possible.

Warwick marched to St. Albans and began to prepare a defensive position there with a three-mile front barring the two roads to London which passed through Luton and Hitchin: see *Map 6*. Detachments were also placed in St. Albans and Sandridge to watch the flanks, and in Dunstable to guard the Watling Street approach to St. Albans.

The queen left York on 20 January, marching down Ermine Street towards London. At Royston she swung left and moved south-west as if to prevent a junction between Edward and Warwick. On 14 or 15 February the queen received details of Warwick's deployment from Lovelace, who had commanded the Yorkist artillery at Wakefield but who had been spared by the Lancastrians. Margaret allowed the borderers to continue ravaging the countryside due south from Hitchin to divert Warwick's attention, and took the rest of her army on a hard march south and west past Luton to Dunstable, intending to follow this with another march against St. Albans from the west, so turning Warwick's defensive line.

The queen's army arrived at Dunstable late on the 16th, took the Yorkists detachment there by surprise, and killed or captured every man. After a brief halt the Lancastrians set out on a 12-mile night march to St. Albans, arriving on the south bank of the River Ver before dawn. After a short pause to rest and organise an attack, at about 6am on 17 February 1461 the 'vaward battle' crossed the river and entered the town. The Yorkists were again taken by surprise but, as the Lancastrians rushed up George Street towards the heart of the town, they were halted by a strong detachment of archers left in St. Albans by Warwick, and eventually were driven back to St Michael's church.

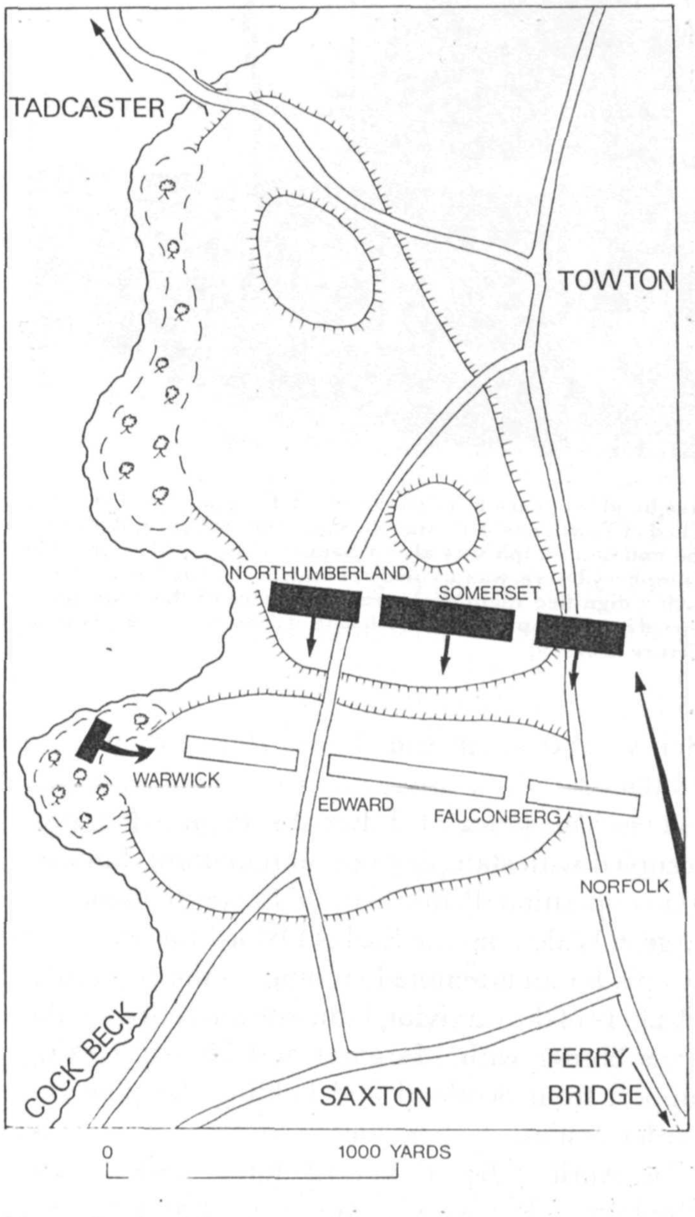
Shortly afterwards scouts reported an unguarded entrance through the defences via Folly and Catherine Lanes (see *Map 2*), and at about 10am the town fell to the Lancastrians. The king was found in a house in the town.

Warwick's defence line had been rendered useless and he was now faced with the task of re-aligning his army in the presence of the enemy. His 'rearward battle', stationed by Beech Bottom Ditch, was wheeled to face south, and Warwick then rode off to bring up the 'main' and 'vaward battles'.

The Lancastrian army now attacked the Yorkist 'rearward battle' which, after a long and brave struggle, finally broke and fled towards the rest of the army. Warwick was already on his way to reinforce them with the 'main battle', but this now broke up as the fugitives streamed past, joining in the general flight. Warwick rode off to bring up his 'vaward battle', but on reaching it he found that Lovelace's detachment had deserted to the enemy and the remainder was badly shaken. Somehow Warwick managed to form a new line and held off further Lancastrian attacks until dark, when he managed to extricate about 4,000 of his men and march westwards to join Edward.

Margaret waited nine days at St. Albans while negotiating the surrender of London, only 20 miles away. London, panic-stricken by the behaviour of the queen's army, which looted St. Albans after the battle, refused to open its gates to the queen and her king. The borderers began to desert in droves; and with Edward and Warwick united and advancing rapidly from the west, Margaret finally abandoned her attempt on the capital and withdrew to York with the king. Twelve days after second St. Albans the united forces of Edward and Warwick entered London: on 4 March Edward was proclaimed king by the Yorkist peers and by the merchants and commons of London.

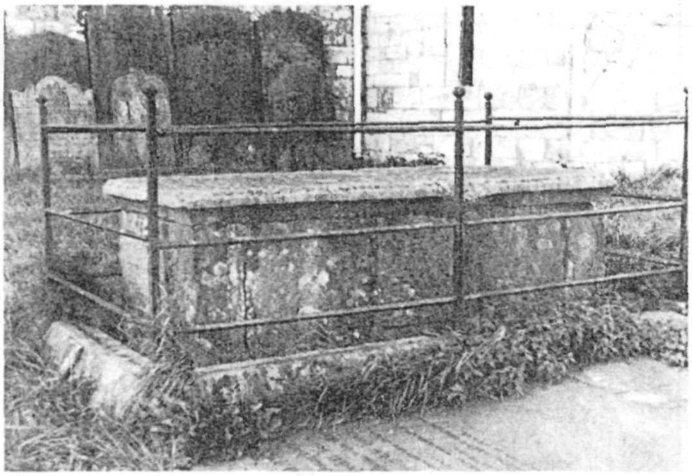
Edward set off in pursuit of Margaret and Henry on 19 March, but his advance guard was defeated by a Lancastrian delaying force at Ferrybridge on the River Aire on the 27th. At dawn on the 28th the Yorkists forced their way over the bridge and all that day fought to push back the Lancastrian rearguard towards Towton, reaching the village of Saxton by nightfall. The next morning the queen's army, commanded by Somerset, was seen drawn up less than a mile away: see *Map 7*.



Map 7: Battle of Towton, 29 March 1461

At 9am on 29 March 1461, with heavy snow falling, the two armies advanced towards each other. When they were about 300 yards apart the Yorkists halted to discharge one volley of heavy armour-piercing arrows which, aided by a following wind, hit the Lancastrian line and caused some casualties. The Yorkist archers then fell back a short distance. The Lancastrians responded with several volleys, using the lighter flight arrows not normally used at all except short range. Impeded by the wind, these arrows fell short by some 50 yards, but the Lancastrians continued to discharge their arrows until their quivers were empty. The Yorkist archers then advanced again and poured a barrage of arrows into the Lancastrian ranks. Unable to respond, the Lancastrians moved forward to contact as quickly as possible.

The battle raged all day, but at about 3pm Lord Dacres, one of the senior Lancastrian commanders, was killed, and at the same time the Duke of Norfolk's force of several thousand men arrived to reinforce the Yorkist right flank. The Lancastrians began to ease off, the slackening of pressure increased to a withdrawal, and suddenly their whole line collapsed. About 12,000 Yorkists were killed or died of wounds and exposure, while some 20,000 Lancastrians were killed, making Towton the most bloody battle ever fought on English soil. It was also the most decisive battle of the wars, in the very heart of Lancastrian country, and firmly established Edward IV on the throne. The queen,



Five hundred years later the tomb of Thomas, Lord Dacres, killed at Towton, is still intact in Saxton churchyard. While his son and heir Ralph was also a Lancastrian, another son, Sir Humphrey Dacre, was a Yorkist. Few who died at Towton have such a dignified memorial: great numbers of the slain were buried in a large pit on the north side of Saxton church. (Athena Picture Library)

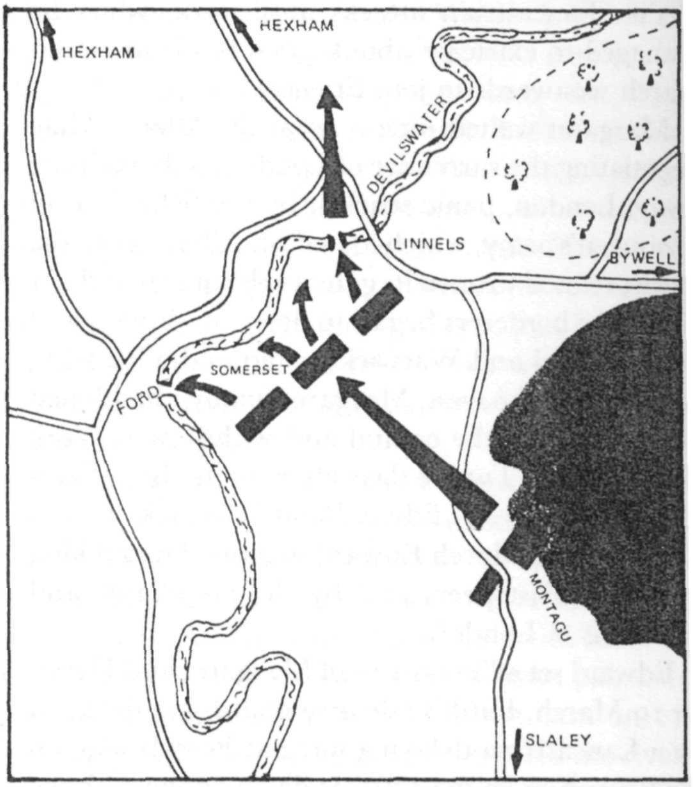
Henry, and their son Prince Edward fled to Scotland.

The first years of Edward's reign were preoccupied with stamping out all remaining Lancastrian opposition. Pembroke and Exeter remained at large in Wales, but the Earl of Oxford was executed in 1462 for an attempted landing on the east coast. The bulk of the surviving Lancastrians retired to the Scots border with Margaret and Henry, seeking support from Scotland and holding the powerful border castles.

In April 1464 a Yorkist force under Lord Montagu, Warwick's younger brother and Edward's lieutenant in the north, clashed with a Lancastrian force under the Duke of Somerset at Hedgeley Moor. The two Lancastrian wings, commanded by Lords Hungerford and Roos, promptly fled, but the men under Sir Ralph Percy stood fast and were annihilated. Montagu was unable to pursue, as he was escorting a Scottish delegation to York to discuss a peace. Somerset led his forces to Hexham and made camp two miles south of that town. As soon as Montagu had carried out his mission, he moved southwards to confront the Lancastrians again.

Early on the morning of 15 May 1464 Montagu attacked the Lancastrian camp, smashing through Somerset's centre with a rapid downhill charge: see *Map 8*. Once again the two wings broke and fled. Somerset was captured and executed, along with Hungerford and Roos, among others. These executions almost completed the extinction of the old Lancastrian faction, and virtually ended Lancastrian resistance; and even the queen gave up, and fled to Anjou.

Map 8: Battle of Hexham, 15 May 1464



1469-1471

Barnet and Tewkesbury

The great northern strongholds of the Lancastrians—Alnwick, Norham, Bamburgh and Dunstanburgh—fell soon after the battle of Hexham, and within a year Henry VI, who had been hiding in a monastery, was betrayed and placed in the Tower. Apart from Harlech Castle and Berwick-on-Tweed, Edward was now truly king of all England.

In November 1464 Edward secretly married Elizabeth Woodville, without the consent and against the wishes of Warwick (who was engaged at the time in trying to arrange a French marriage for the king). Warwick, trying to assume dictatorial powers over the new king, fell from favour, and Elizabeth's numerous relatives rose swiftly in rank and office as Edward formed his own Yorkist party: his father-in-law became Earl Rivers, his brother-in-law Lord Scales, Elizabeth's son by her first marriage became Earl of Dorset, while old supporters were also advanced—William Herbert was made Earl of Pembroke, Humphrey Stafford Earl of Devon, and the Percies were recruited in alignment against the Nevilles by restoring to them the earldom of Northumberland. In 1467 Edward openly broke with Warwick by repudiating a treaty with France and an alliance with Burgundy which Warwick had just negotiated. Enraged and humiliated, Warwick enlisted the aid of Edward's brother, George of Clarence, and from the security of Calais declared against Edward because of his oppressions.

At about this time Warwick engineered a Neville rising in the north, which began with the so-called rebellion of Robin of Redesdale. When the rising was well under way Warwick landed in Kent with a force from Calais but, before he could reach the scene of operations, the royal army was defeated at Edgecote in Northamptonshire (6 July 1469). Edward was captured and handed over to Warwick, who executed many of Edward's leading supporters, including Queen Elizabeth's father, her brother John, and the newly created Earls of Pembroke and Devon.

Edward was confined for some weeks in Middleham Castle, but was released when he agreed to accept new ministers nominated by Warwick. But at the first opportunity Edward took his revenge. In March 1470 a Lancastrian uprising occurred in Lincolnshire. Edward gathered a force to suppress the rising, carefully calling to his standard all those peers with grudges against Warwick or who were not tied to him by family alliances. Edward defeated the rebels at the battle of Lose-Coat Field and the rebels' leader, Sir Robert Welles, confessed the rising was part of a plot by Warwick to make Clarence king. Unable to oppose Edward's army, Warwick and Clarence fled to France, where they allied themselves with Margaret and the Lancastrian cause.

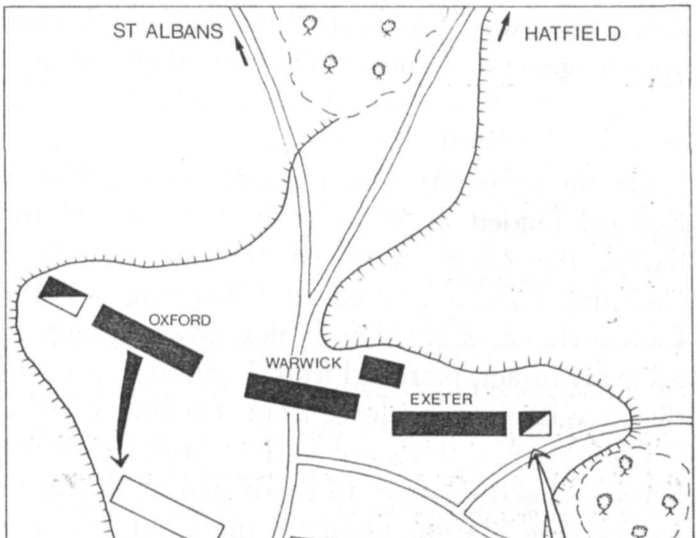
In September Warwick arranged a rising in Yorkshire and, as soon as Edward moved north, landed with Clarence and a small force at Dartmouth. Devon rose to support them, Kent followed suit, and London opened its gates. Edward, returning south in a hurry, found himself caught between Warwick's growing army in the south and the rising in the north. His army began to melt away, and Edward was forced to take ship at Lynn and flee to the Netherlands.

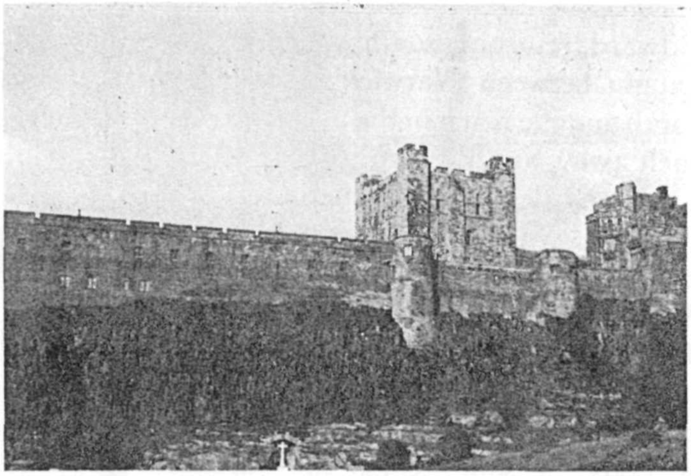
Henry VI was released and restored to the throne, but Margaret did not trust her old enemy Warwick, and refused to leave France: Prince Edward remained with her.

Meanwhile, Clarence began to seek a reconciliation with Edward; and on 15 March 1471, with a body of some 1,500 German and Flemish mercenaries lent to him by the Duke of Burgundy, Edward landed at Ravenspur in the Humber estuary. Marching swiftly southwards, Edward evaded an army under the Duke of Northumberland and reached Nottingham, where he learned that Warwick was gathering an army at Coventry. The Earl of Oxford was at Newark with another army, but Edward managed to slip between them, gathering adherents to his cause all the way to the capital. The most important of these was Clarence, who joined him with a force originally raised for the Lancastrian cause.

Edward reached London on 11 April, closely followed by the now united armies of Oxford, Northumberland and Warwick, and on 14 April 1471 was fought the battle of Barnet: see *Map 9*.

Map 9: Battle of Barnet, 14 April 1471.





Bamburgh Castle, from the landward side. This formidable castle was taken by Warwick in 1464 with the aid of five 'great guns'. It was a ball from one of these which knocked the castle's commander, Sir Ralph Grey, unconscious; the garrison then seized the opportunity to surrender. (Athena Picture Library)

The battle began at dawn in a heavy fog, with the right wing of each army overlapping the left wing of the other. Both the Yorkist and Lancastrian left wings were defeated. Consequently both armies swung to a new position, almost at right angles to their original lines, and in the fog the Lancastrian right under Oxford blundered into the rear of his own centre, causing some casualties. Cries of treason rang out, and many of Oxford's men now quit the field, followed by some of those from Somerset's 'main battle'. At this moment Edward charged between Somerset and Warwick with about a 100 horsemen of his reserve. Warwick's men slowly gave way, eventually breaking and fleeing, and a general Lancastrian rout then ensued. Warwick, on foot, was cut down and killed. With him died his brother Montagu.

On the same day Queen Margaret and Prince Edward landed at Weymouth. Learning of the battle, the queen marched through the West Country, collecting men and heading for the Lancastrian strongholds in Wales. Edward, keeping his army intact, marched from London to prevent this new Lancastrian force from reaching Wales.

Gloucester, with its crucial first bridge over the Severn, closed its gates to the queen at Edward's request, and Margaret had no option but to bypass the city and move further up river to Tewkesbury. Here Edward caught up with her on 3 May after a series of forced marches.

The next day—4 May 1471—the outnumbered Lancastrians took up a strong position on a slope between two brooks: see *Map 10*. The Yorkists deployed some 400 yards away, with their left flank under Richard of Gloucester apparently 'in the air'. Somerset took his personal command away to the right to attack Richard in the flank, giving Lord Wenlock orders to advance as soon as he saw Somerset attacking, thus pinning Richard in position. In the event Wenlock failed to advance; Richard turned to face Somerset, who was now faced by the entire Yorkist left; and at the same time some 200 spearmen, placed on the extreme flank by Edward to guard against such a move, advanced to attack Somerset in the flank. Somerset's force gave ground, then broke and fled. Somerset escaped to confront Wenlock, and in a rage slew him with his battleaxe. The 'main battle' now began to give ground, and when Edward's centre began a general advance the Lancastrian army broke and ran.

Most of the Lancastrian nobles were captured and slaughtered, among them Prince Edward and Edmund, Duke of Somerset, the last male Beaufort. Queen Margaret was captured and placed in the Tower, where she remained for five years until ransomed by her father. Henry VI was murdered in the Tower shortly after the battle.

Edward proclaimed his seven month old son Edward Prince of Wales and sent Hastings with a strong force to take possession of Calais. Richard of Gloucester was rewarded with Warwick's lands and offices, while Clarence received the lands of Courtenay in the West Country and the Lieutenancy of Ireland.

Map 10: Battle of Tewkesbury, 4 May 1471

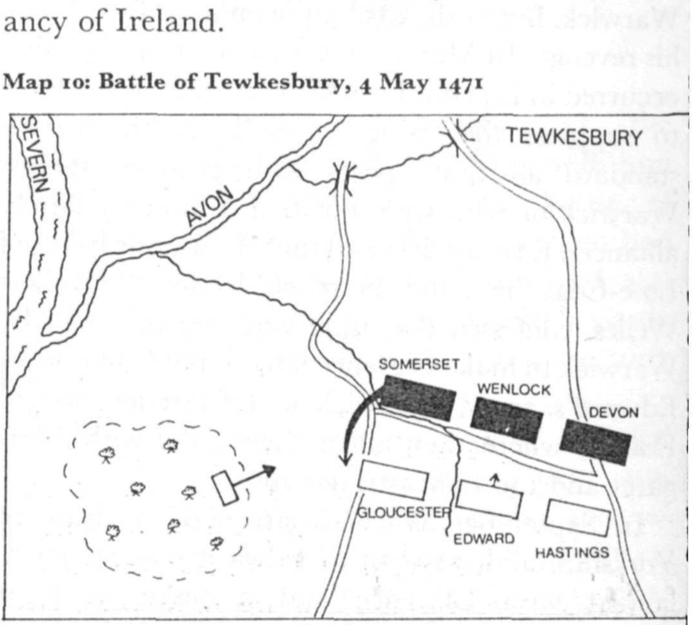


TABLE C: TOTALS AND CATEGORIES OF COMBATANTS, 1475

	No. of contingent commanders	*Men-at-arms*	*Archers*	*Average no. per commander:*		*Ratio of archers to men-at-arms*
				MAA	*Archers*	
A: Household						
Bannerets	7	69	720	10	103	10 to 1
Knights	5	39	370	8	54	7 to 1
Esquires	28	107	910	4	32	8 to 1
Gentlemen	2	2	7	1	3½	3½ to 1
Others	7	10	80	1½	11½	8 to 1
'Gentlemen of the house of the lord king'	1	43	316	43	316	7½ to 1
'Archers of the king's chambers'			184			
Total of A:	*50*	*270*	*2,587*			
B: Peers—royal relations and holding household appointments	11	516	4,080	47	371	8 to 1
C: Other officials	9	29	134	3	15	5 to 1
Total of A, B & C:	*70*	*815*	*6,801*			
D: Other peers	12	231	1,619	16	135	9 to 1
E: Other—non-household:						
Bannerets	5	32	272	6	54	8½ to 1
Knights	13	52	449	4	35	9 to 1
Esquires	52	91	672	2	13½	7 to 1
Gentlemen	6	5	32	1	5	5 to 1
Others	32	40	268	1	8	8 to 1
Total of D & E:	*120*	*451*	*2,312*			
F: Scottish lords:	2	8	60	4	30	7½ to 1
Total of D, E & F:	*122*	*463*	*3,372*			
Total of all categories:	*192*	*1,278*	*10,173*			

Total of commanders, men-at-arms, and archers *11,451*
Add technical personnel (transport, miners, craftsmen, etc.) *387*
Grand total *11,838*
Plus non-combatants—secretaries, royal servants, councillors, etc—possibly another 10% or 12% *1,182*
13,020

The Earl of Oxford, who had escaped to France after Barnet, made a landing in Essex and another at St Michael's Mount, but failed to raise an army. He surrendered in February 1474.

In 1475 Edward raised an army and invaded France, but abandoned the expedition in return for a substantial cash payment. Peace and prosperity at last descended on the realm, the only cloud being Clarence who, dissatisfied with his position, quarrelled with both Edward and Richard. In 1477 matters came to a head over some murders carried out on Clarence's orders, and a rising in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, led by a man claiming to be the Earl of Oxford—a rising almost certainly inspired by Clarence. Clarence was arrested and sent to the Tower, where he died some six months later.

1483-1487

Bosworth, Stoke, Blackheath and Exeter

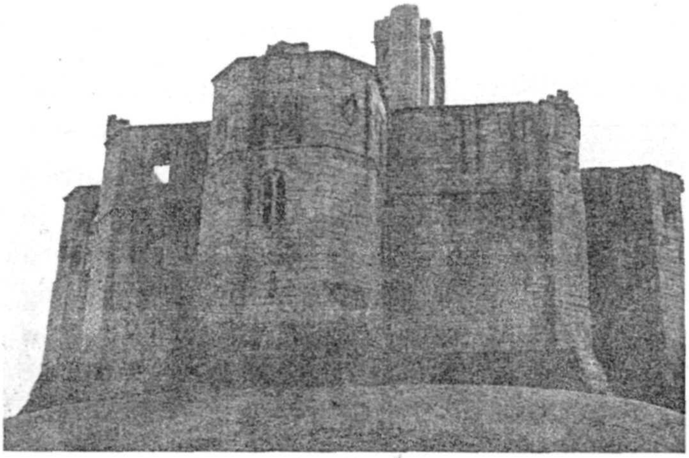
Edward IV died in April 1483 when his son and heir, Edward V, was only twelve. Inevitably rival factions immediately emerged—the boy king and the court controlled by the queen mother and her relations, and Edward's favourites Lord Hastings and Thomas Lord Stanley, opposed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, now the most powerful man in the kingdom, whom Edward IV had intended should be regent.

Richard acted swiftly. Moving south, he joined forces with Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and seized Edward V en route to London in the care of Lord Rivers, the queen mother's brother. Her son, Dorset, at once fled the country, while the queen mother sought sanctuary in Westminster Abbey. Within a month of Edward IV's death, Richard was Protector of the Realm.

In June Hastings was suddenly arrested and executed. Two weeks later Richard informed Parliament that Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville was invalid due to an earlier marriage, and therefore Edward V was a bastard—which left Richard the rightful successor. Richard became Richard III, Lord Rivers was executed, and Edward V and his younger brother Richard, Duke of York, were placed in the Tower.

That autumn there was a revolt in the West Country, led by Buckingham, apparently in conspiracy with the exiled Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond and now head of the House of Lancaster. (Henry could claim the throne, in right of his mother, Margaret Beaufort, as surviving male representative of the House of Lancaster, the Beauforts being descended from John of Gaunt.) Buckingham was supported by the Woodvilles and Courtenays. The revolt was quickly and efficiently crushed by Richard, and Buckingham was executed. Henry Tudor withdrew to France, but in 1485, with about 3,000 French mercenaries, he landed in Pembrokeshire, where his uncle Jasper was earl. He marched quickly through Wales and the Marches, picking up considerable support on the way, and confronted Richard in battle for the throne at Bosworth in Leicestershire on 22 August 1485.

The completely self-contained keep of Warkworth Castle, which could be defended for months even if the rest of the castle fell. The castle was held by the Percy family (note lion sculpture) from 1332; the keep was built c.1400. (Athena Picture Library)

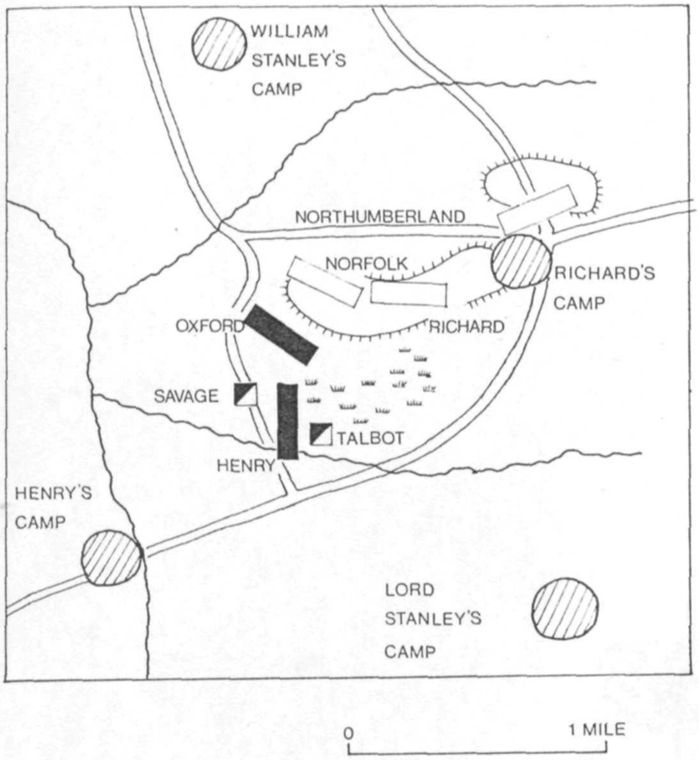


The two main forces drew up facing each other (see *Map 11*) but both Henry Tudor and Richard III looked anxiously for support from the forces of the two brothers Stanley: those of Sir Willaim Stanley were visible to the north-west of the battlefield, and those of Lord Stanley to the south-east.

The battle commenced without the Stanleys, the opposing forces both making a bid for Ambien Hill. Richard's troops reached the ridge first, and his 'vaward battle' deployed on it in a defensive position. The 'main battle' followed, while the 'rearward battle' was ordered to take position on the left of this line as soon as possible, and to face due south.

Henry advanced to engage in an archery duel at long range, and Richard looked in vain for his 'rearward battle': the Earl of Northumberland had decided to avoid action until the Stanleys showed their hands.

As the archers began to run out of arrows, the two armies advanced to mêlée, and only now did the Stanleys move—to attack both flanks of Richard's line, while Northumberland remained immobile. Richard mounted, collected his bodyguard around him, and rode into the centre of the enemy, intent on killing Henry Tudor or dying like a king. Unhorsed in the marsh, Richard was soon overwhelmed by superior numbers and killed. The battle ceased when his death became known, and his army melted away with little or no pursuit. Lord Stanley took the circlet indicating Richard's rank



Map 11: Battle of Bosworth Field, 22 August 1485

from the dead king's helmet and, placing it on Henry Tudor's head, proclaimed him King Henry VII.

In the early years of his reign Henry VII was in continual danger, and it is erroneous to regard Bosworth as the end of the Wars of the Roses. The first of the king's troubles was a rising in 1486 in the North Riding of Yorkshire, where Richard III had been very popular. It was led by Lord Lovel, Richard's chamberlain and admiral, but the rebels dispersed when Henry marched against them with a large force. Lovel fled to Flanders.

In May 1487 Lovel landed in Ireland with some 2,000 Swiss and 1,500 German mercenaries, supplied by Margaret of Burgundy and commanded by the Swiss captain Martin Schwarz, accompanied by John, Earl of Lincoln, and about 200 other exiled Yorkists. This revolt was in the name of Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, but as he was a prisoner in the Tower a 'double' named Lambert Simnel played his part.

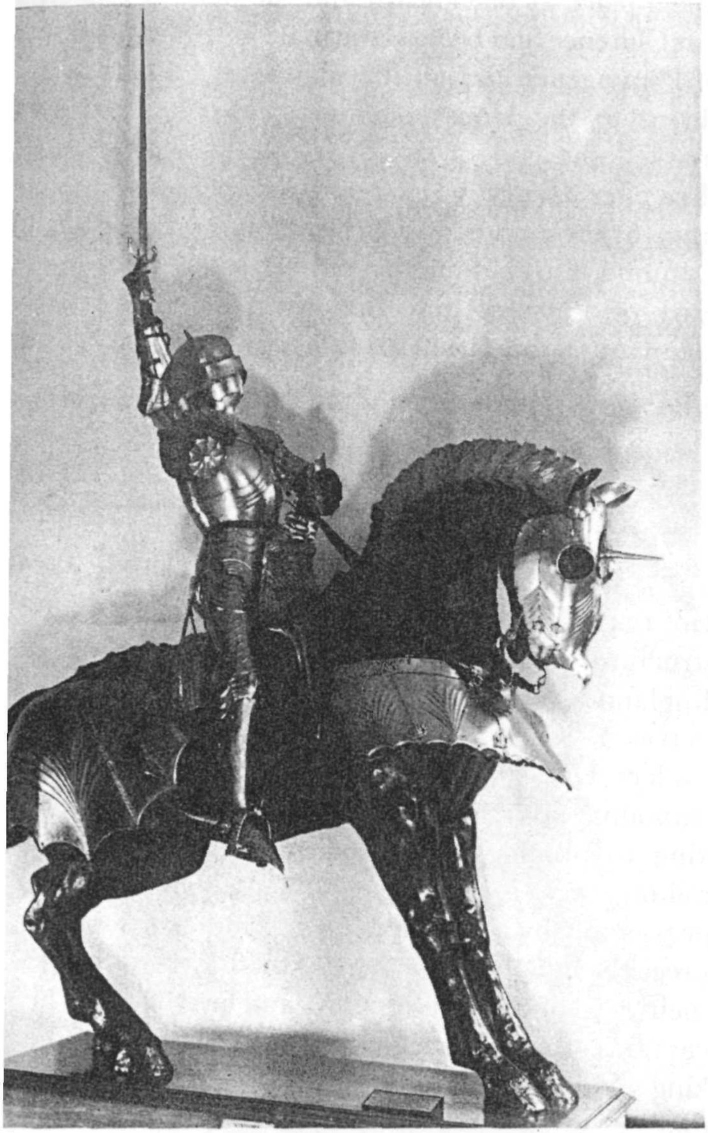
The invaders were welcomed by most of the Irish lords and 'Clarence' was crowned Edward VI at Dublin. Within a few weeks Lincoln had recruited some 4,000–5,000 Irish soldiers under Thomas Fitzgerald. These forces now sailed for England, landing in Lancashire. However, few Yorkists had joined the invaders by the the time Henry VII brought them to battle at Stoke, near Newark, on 17 July 1487. Despite fierce resistance by the foreign mercenaries the rebels were routed, Lincoln and Fitzgerald killed, and Simnel captured. Lovel disappeared.

For the next four years Henry enjoyed a relatively peaceful reign, but then Yorkist conspiracies began once more to thicken. Ever since 1483 it had been rumoured that one or both of Edward IV's sons had escaped from the Tower: Henry Tudor claimed they had been murdered by Richard III, but no bodies had ever been found or displayed as proof of their death. One Perkin Warbeck, a citizen of Tournai, was chosen for his similarity of appearance to Edward IV, and declared to be Richard, Duke of York.

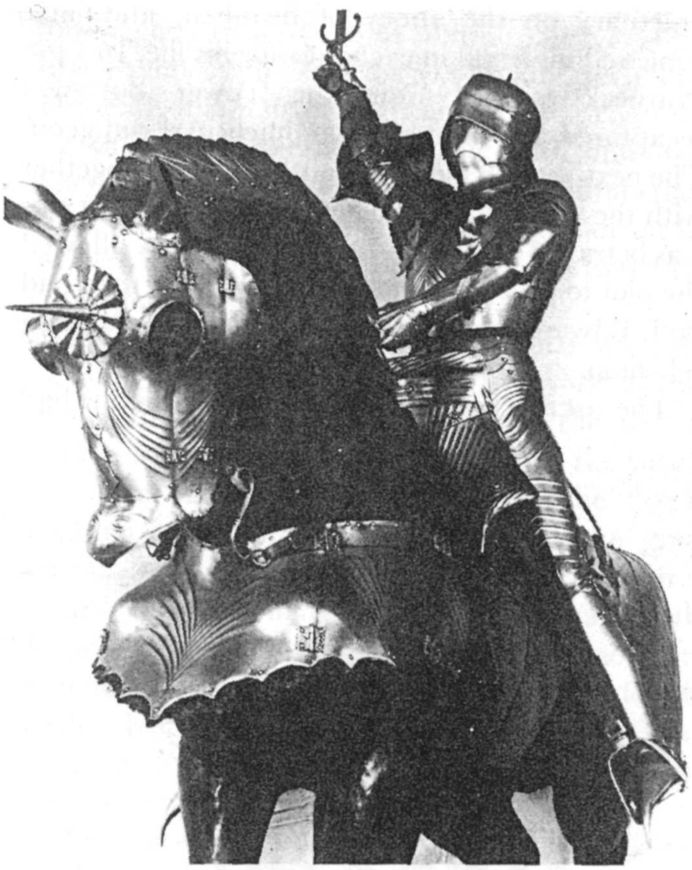
He gained some support in Ireland, and was recognised as York by Margaret of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria. For two years Warbeck followed the Imperial court while his patrons intrigued with English malcontents; but in the winter of 1494–5 Henry's spies infiltrated the conspiracy and large numbers of the conspirators were arrested, including Lord FitzWalter and Sir William Stanley. The latter was beheaded, as were several others, while the remainder were hanged or imprisoned.

Nevertheless, in July 1495 Warbeck sailed from Flanders with 2,000 exiles and German mercenaries. He attempted to land at Deal, but his vanguard was destroyed by Kentish levies and he

The gatehouse-keep of Dunstanburgh Castle, built early in the 14th century and extended by John of Gaunt in 1380–84. The castle is built on an immensely strong promontory, and even today can only be reached by a $1\frac{1}{2}$-mile walk over broken moorland. (Athena Picture Library)



War harness for a rider and horse, made at Landshut, Germany in c.1475–85, and characteristic of German armours of the last stages of the Wars of the Roses. This well-known piece is worth studying at length: although some details are known to have been added at a later date, it is essentially original. The classically German features are the way in which the assemblies are broken down into many separate plates, in contrast to the fewer, larger plates of contemporary Italian armours; and the mass of surface detail in the form of radiating ridges and flutings, drawn out into 'spikes' where they reach the edge of a plate. These details were not primarily decorative, although they obviously have that effect: they were to catch and channel the points of enemy weapons safely off in a glancing blow, and at the same time to strengthen the armour against crushing blows. Points to notice include the extraordinary skill with which the different sections are fitted and articulated, so that they stay close together even in movement. The rivet-heads should not be seen as simply 'bolts holding it together'; they are in many cases fitted to slots in the adjacent plates, allowing the overlaps to slide smoothly over one another when a limb is moved. Note the astonishing precision of the many articulations, e.g. at the gauntlet and the foot—even the foot has eight separate plates, all slotted together to allow absolutely unhindered movement, between the toe and the instep. Note also the thinness of the plates, visible at the edges. There is nothing remotely cumbersome about this astonishing piece of craftsmanship. The horse furniture is as carefully designed as the rider's armour; and note how the steel-faced saddle not only protects but also positions and steadies the rider, and supports him against impact. (Wallace Collection)



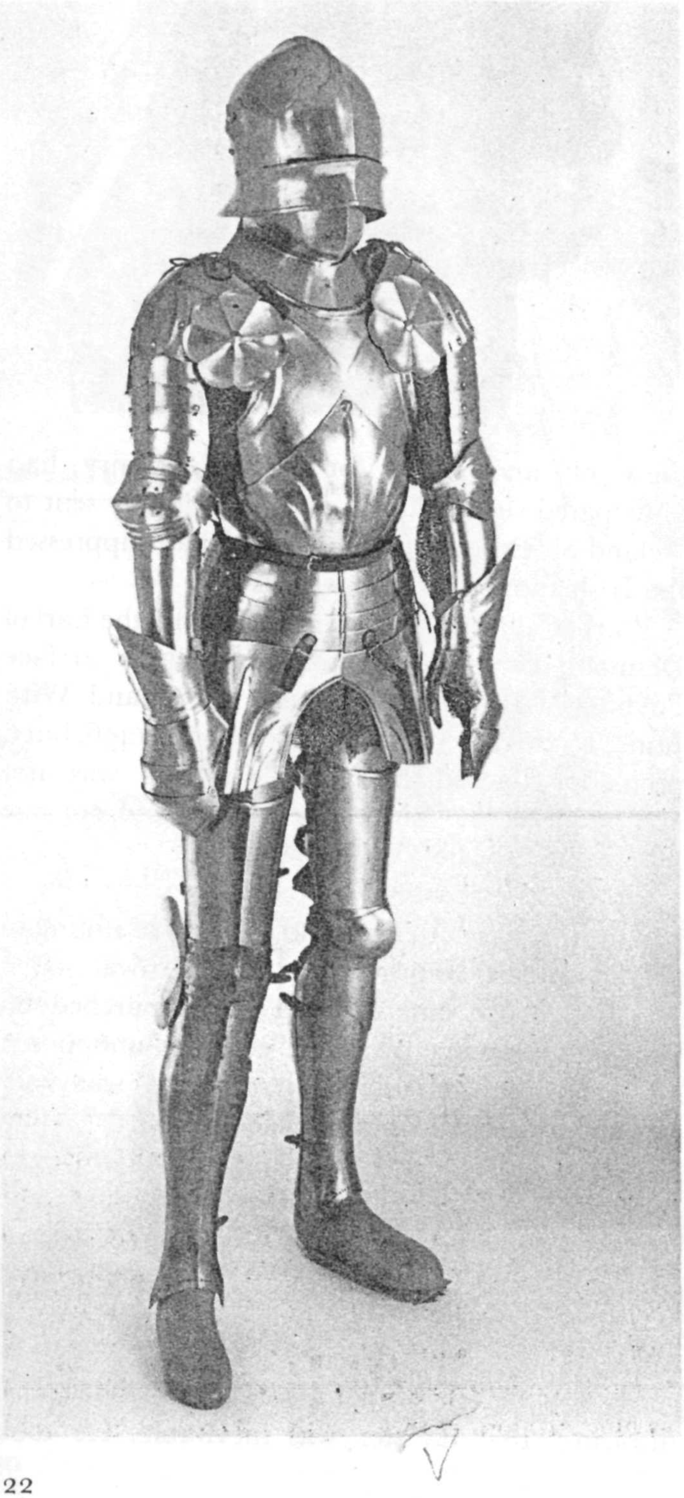
drew off and made for Ireland. Henry had anticipated such a move, and had already sent to Ireland Sir Edward Poynings, who had suppressed the Irish supporters of Warbeck.

Warbeck landed at Munster, but only the Earl of Desmond came to his support. Unable to face Poynings' forces, Warbeck sailed to Scotland. With James IV he raided Northumberland in 1496, but a pretender backed by Scottish spears was not acceptable to the English borderers, and not one man rallied to the Yorkist banner.

However, discontent over the taxes imposed to pay for the war with Scotland did lead to rioting in the south-east counties, and in Cornwall open rebellion broke out. A rebel army marched on London, sweeping over five counties unopposed and collecting recruits en route, and was only stopped by a hard fight at Blackheath.

Warbeck, hearing of the rising, landed in Devon in August. Gathering together 8,000 rebels, he marched on Exeter. The city closed its gates against him and, after an attempt to besiege the city, Warbeck had to march away to confront a royal army despatched to relieve Exeter. When he reached Taunton Warbeck found his followers so dispirited that disaster was inevitable. He took sanctuary on the abbey of Beaulieu, and later confessed his fraud in exchange for his life. In 1498 Warbeck escaped from the Tower but was recaptured and thereafter confined in a dungeon. The next year he planned another escape, together with the unfortunate Edward of Clarence, but this was betrayed by spies in the Tower. Henry allowed the plot to proceed almost to completion, then had both Edward and Warbeck executed for planning rebellion.

The last real fighting of the Wars of the Roses had taken place at Blackheath and the siege of Exeter, but Clarence had been a true male heir of the House of Plantagenet and all the time he lived he was a threat to the House of Tudor. His death truly marked the end of the Wars of the Roses, and thereafter Henry VII's reign was peaceful apart from a few minor and futile plots by the exiled Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, younger brother of John, Earl of Lincoln, and the last possible Yorkist claimant to the throne of England.



The Armies

In 1341 Edward III had revolutionised the structure of European armies by instituting in England a system of written indentured contracts between the Crown and prominent military leaders. Under this system the military leaders, or 'captains' and 'lieutenants', contracted with the king to provide an agreed number of men for military service, promising to bring them to a place of assembly by a certain date. The indenture set out precisely how long the men would have to serve, their rate of pay, obligations and privileges. The captains were responsible for paying these men, the king giving securities to repay the money at a later date.

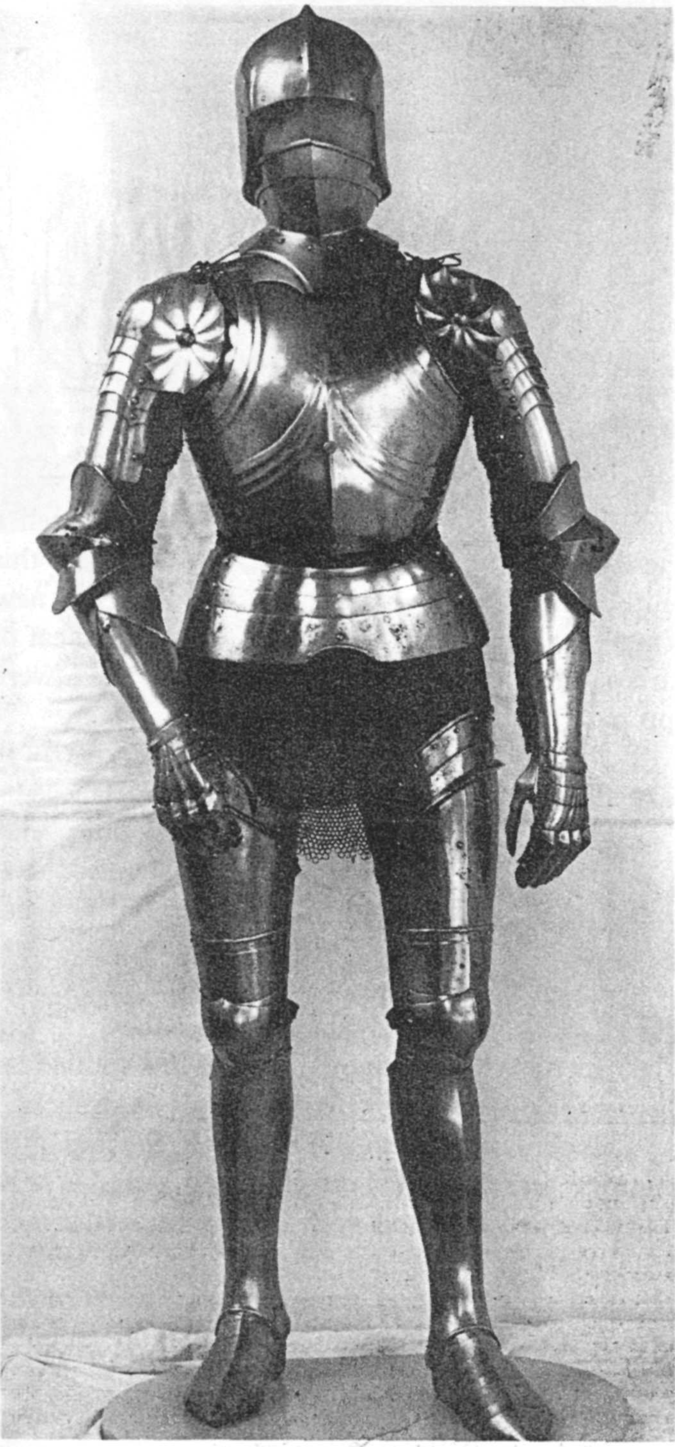
These captains raised their companies by making a series of similar contracts with knights and men-at-arms, again stipulating the terms of service and the types of soldiers they would be expected to contribute. The captains usually sought these 'sub-

'Composite' armours present researchers with a serious problem. Many armours which have been in private or public collections for a century or more, and which are labelled as if they were complete and homogenous harnesses, were in fact assembled from different components by ignorant or unscrupulous dealers or curators. Apart from these, there are some surviving armours which would appear to have been made up in early times from separate components. It would make sense for 'field' or 'ammunition' armours to be made up by cannibalising: e.g., the body defences from one harness and the leg defences from another. (Left) A composite field armour from Schloss Churburg: basically in the Italian style of c.1480, it has legs from another harness of c.1450. The right gauntlet is modern. (Right) An even more mixed armour. The sallet and sabatons are Italian, 15th century; the bevor, breast and arm defences are German, 15th century; and the legs are early 16th century, but have been modified to give them an earlier appearance. The tassets are missing. This piece is typical of armours assembled in the 19th century for collectors who wanted 'Gothic' harnesses. (Department of the Environment; and Wallace Collection)

contractors' amongst their friends, kinsmen, tenants and neighbours.

These companies, composed entirely of volunteers, created in effect a royal standing army; for the men were professional soldiers who, although raised, led and paid by their captains, regarded themselves firstly as *English* soldiers, owing allegiance to their king and fighting only his enemies.

Inevitably, many of the most powerful captains were of the nobility, for they had the position at court, the wealth, and the connections to raise large contingents. In order to be able to satisfy at once any request by the king for a company, such lords frequently maintained a permanent force, contracting their sub-contractors for life with annuities. These men often held offices (such as chamberlain or steward) in the magnate's household or on his estates, and probably provided in their turn the key contingents in his company.

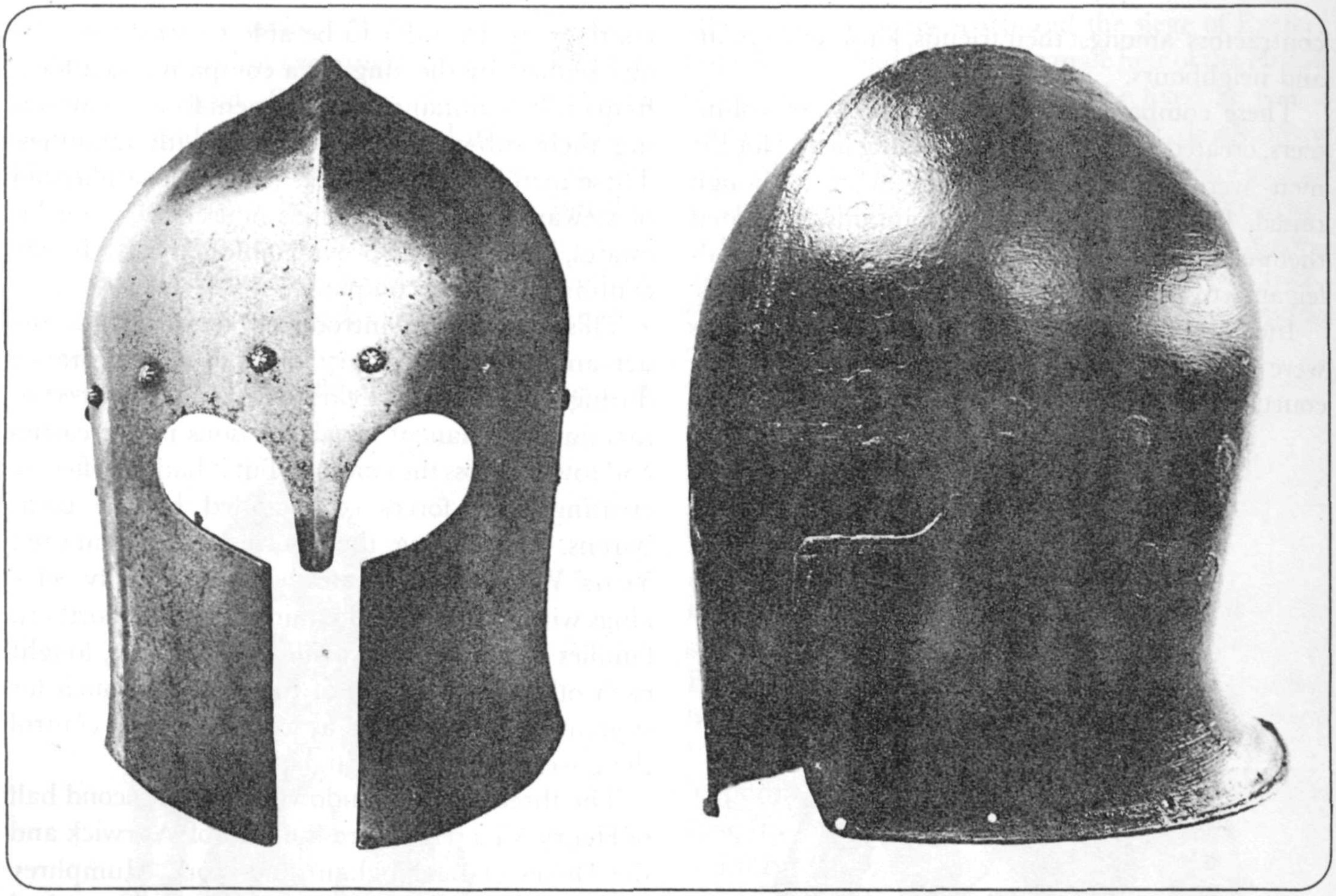


This system was introduced to deal with the demand for expeditionary forces to invade France during the Hundred Years' War, and the need to maintain permanent royal garrisons in the castles and towns across the channel. But it had the effect of creating large forces commanded by the great barons, and during the course of the Hundred Years' War these magnates became virtually petty kings within their own domains: the great northern families of Percy and Neville, for example, fought each other in the Wars of the Roses as much for supremacy in the North as for who should control the government of all England.

The three greatest landowners of the second half of Henry VI's reign were the Earl of Warwick and the Dukes of Buckingham and York. Humphrey Stafford (died 1460), 1st Duke of Buckingham, had a personal retinue of ten knights and 27 esquires, many of whom were drawn from the Staffordshire gentry. These men were paid annuities to retain their loyalty (hence 'retainers'), the best-paid in Buckingham's retinue being Sir Edward Grey (died 1457) who was retained for life in 1440 at £40 per annum. Two knights (Sir Richard Vernon and Sir John Constable) received annuities of £20 p.a., but £10 was the customary annuity for a knight, with esquires paid from 10 to 40 marks per annum.

These knights and esquires were the sub-contractors, and each would have provided a contingent of archers and men-at-arms. When their contingents were amalgamated, considerable armies could be gathered. For example, in January 1454, 2,000 badges of the Stafford knot were produced for distribution to Buckingham's men; in 1469 the Duke of Norfolk fielded 3,000 men and some cannon; while a great soldier and statesman of the ability and ambition of Warwick would have been able to count on thousands of men scattered over no fewer than 20 shires.

Table C (refer back to p. 17) indicates the sizes of other contingents, and the ratio of troop types. Note



The barbute, an Italian style of helmet, originated in the 14th century, but would still have been in fairly widespread use in the early years of the Wars of the Roses. The left hand example, with a nasal, is c.1445; the right hand one, now painted black, is about ten years later. Note large hole for mounting a crest in the median ridge. (Wallace Collection)

the predominance of archers. The contemporary Paston letters give a good idea of the value of the longbowman during the Wars of the Roses. When Sir John Paston was about to depart for Calais, he asked his brother to try to recruit four archers for him: 'Likely men and fair conditioned and good archers and they shall have 4 marks by year and my livery'. (i.e. they were to be permanent retainers, on annuities).

These were ordinary archers, as opposed to an élite or 'de maison' archer who would serve permanently in the household troop of a great lord. Warwick considered such men to be worth two ordinary soldiers—even English ones! In 1467 Sir John Howard hired such an archer, offering him £10 a year—the annuity paid to knights—plus two gowns and a house for his wife. As an extra inducement he gave the man 2s. 8d., two doublets worth 10s. and a new gown (a term often applied to the livery coat). When Sir John bought himself a new bow, for which he paid 2s., he bought for this élite archer four bows costing 5s. 11½d. each, a new case, a shooting glove, bowstrings, and a sheaf of arrows which cost 5s.: at that price they were probably the best target arrows available.

Edward IV's leading captains for his 1475 expedition to France had the following retinues:

Duke of Clarence	10 knights	1,000 archers[1]
Duke of Gloucester	10 knights	1,000 archers
Duke of Norfolk	2 knights	300 archers
Duke of Suffolk	2 knights	300 archers
Duke of Buckingham	4 knights	400 archers

([1]The totals supplied by the dukes are shown as 334 spearmen, 2,802 archers, but in the individual listing the infantry are referred to only as 'archers'.)

This contract system still existed in the mid-15th century, and the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453 flooded England with large numbers of men who had no trade other than that of soldier. Returning to England, these men now assumed the aspect of mercenaries, unemployed and troublesome. Bored and hungry, they eagerly sought employment with the great barons. Such large private armies were extremely dangerous to the king. Lacking a standing army of his own, he could now only control unruly or even disloyal barons by using the private armies of those barons who remained loyal. Of course, loyal barons were rewarded with valuable offices and vast estates—which enabled them to hire even larger armies until, as with Warwick, they became powerful enough to attempt the overthrow of their benefactor.

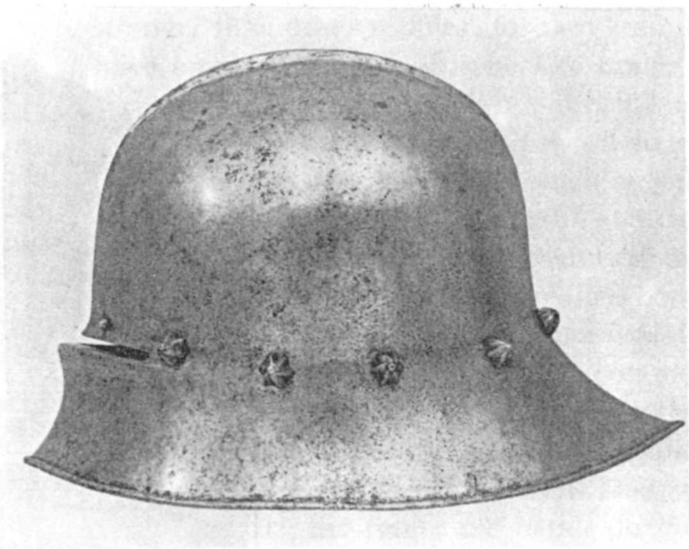
This weakness in the royal authority led to corruption in high offices, and especially in the judiciary system. Whenever the interests of a landowner were involved in a legal case, rival bodies of armed men, wearing the liveries and badges of the lords who maintained them, would ride into the county town and bribe or intimidate judge and jury.

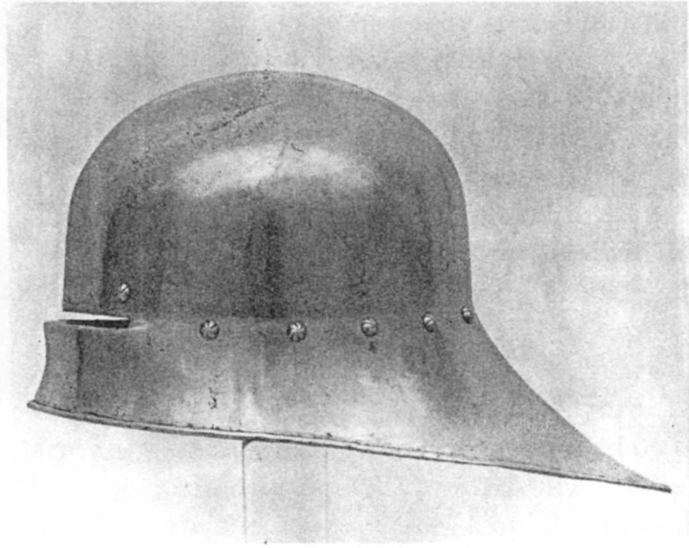
During the regency of Henry VI's reign the legal system finally collapsed, and the barons began to resolve their quarrels over land and inheritances by making war against each other: might was right, and it became commonplace for heiresses to be abducted, minor lords to be imprisoned or even murdered, and for 'evidence' to be procured by bribery or threat.

Since justice was no longer obtainable by fair means, many of the yeoman farmers and smaller landowners of the lesser gentry now turned to the barons for their personal protection and for the protection of their lands and rights. This led to the polarisation which is such a feature of the Wars of the Roses.

The yeomen and lesser gentry entered into another form of contract, known as 'livery and maintenance', whereby they undertook to wear the baron's livery—i.e. a tunic in his colours and bearing his household badge—and to fight for him in times of need. In return they received his protection whenever they needed it.

From the above can be seen that an 'army' of the Wars of the Roses might consist of a magnate's personal or household troops (or bodyguard—usually of knights, sergeants and archers), plus his tenants, together with paid mercenaries or contract troops—both English and foreign specialists such as gunners and handgunners—and 'livery and maintenance' men who were unpaid but who had a personal stake in the fighting.

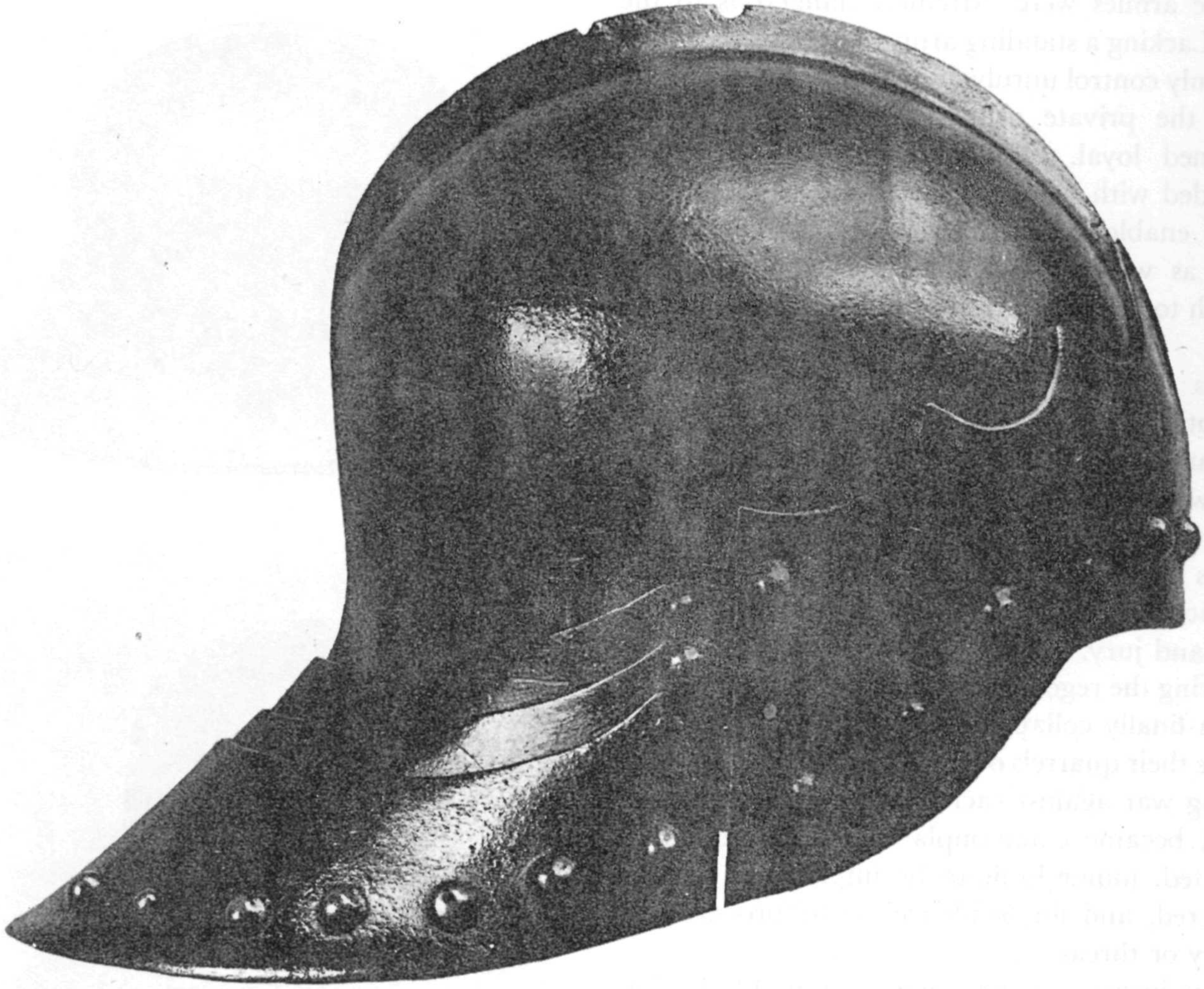


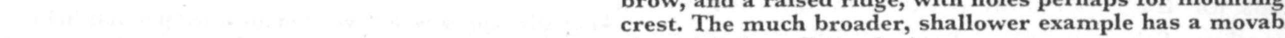


The sallet appears to have been the most popular helmet of our period. These German examples show a development of shape from the deep-domed type of c.1460, to that of about 30 years later with the rear brim drawn back and down in a point. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, via G. A. Embleton)

The only forces under the king's personal command were his bodyguard of knights and sergeants and the large, professional body of men who formed the royal garrison at Calais. Edward IV also had a permanent bodyguard of archers, and one of Henry VII's first actions on seizing the throne was to found the Yeomen of the Guard, a body of some 2,000 archers under a captain. These first saw active service in 1486, when they were used in the suppression of northern rebels.

Finally, in times of great need, the king might also use Commissions of Array to call out the local militia. In theory the king's officials chose the best-armed men from each village and town to serve the king for up to 40 days, the men's provisions being





The term 'sallet' covers a wide range of shapes. Both these late examples date from the 1480s. One, with a black finish, has a laminated neck guard, an extra reinforcing plate riveted to the brow, and a raised ridge, with holes perhaps for mounting a crest. The much broader, shallower example has a movable visor. (Wallace Collection)

provided by their community. In practice, the king's authority was frequently misused, and great landowners often sent letters to the lesser landowners and councils of towns where they had influence, reminding those in authority of past favours and hinting at benefits yet to come.

An example is given in the contemporary Stonor letters and papers for the Oxfordshire half-hundred of Ewelme, which provided from its 17 villages a total of 85 soldiers, 17 of whom were archers. Ewelme itself produced six men: 'Richard Slythurst, a harness [i.e. armoured] and able to do the king service with his bow. Thomas Staunton [the constable], John Holme, whole harness and both able to do the king service with a bill. John Tanner, a harness and able to do the king service with a bill. John Pallying, a harness and not able to wear it [presumably it did not fit him]. Roger Smith, no harness, an able man and a good archer'. Other men without harness are described as 'able with a staff'.

Muster rolls are another source of such information. The muster on 4 September 1457 before the king's officials at Bridport, Dorset, shows that the standard equipment expected was a sallet, jack, sword, buckler and dagger. In addition, about two-thirds of the men had bows and a sheaf or half a sheaf of arrows. There was a sprinkling of other weapons—poleaxes, glaives, bills, spears, axes and staves; and some odd pieces of armour—hauberks, gauntlets, and leg harness. Two men also had pavises, and the officials recommended more pavises be made available.

In May 1455 the mayor of Coventry was ordered by royal signet letter to supply a retinue for the king. The town council decided to supply a hundred men with bows, jacks and sallets, and a captain was elected to lead them.

Perhaps the best description of such levies is that penned by the chronicler Dominic Mancini, who viewed the troops summoned to London in 1483 by the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham. These levies probably included northerners and Welshmen, who were prominent amongst the dukes' supporters:

> 'There is hardly any without a helmet, and none without bows and arrows: their bows and arrows are thicker and longer than those used by other nations, just as their bodies are stronger than other peoples', for they seem to have hands and arms of iron. The range of their bow is no less than that of our arbalests; there hangs by the side of each a sword no less long than ours, but heavy and thick as well. The sword is always accompanied by an iron shield . . . They do not wear any metal armour on their breast or any other part of their body, except for the better sort who have breastplates and suits of armour. Indeed the common soldiery have more comfortable tunics that reach down below the loins and are stuffed with tow or some other soft material. They say that the softer the tunics the better do they withstand the blows of arrows and swords, and besides that in summer they are lighter and in winter more serviceable than iron'.

The retinues supplied for Edward IV's expedition to France are divided into 'lances' in the Continental manner[1], but it is most unlikely that the forces engaged in the Wars of the Roses were ever formally divided in this manner. Rather they were grouped by weapon and armour, by companies and under the banners of their captains, and grouped into 'vaward', 'main' and 'rearward battles' under the standard of a major figure. The army as a whole would often be commanded by the leading political figure, assisted by military advisers. In the case of the king's armies the commander-in-chief would be the lieutenant or captain of the region: officers such as the Warden of the Marches, Lieutenant of Ireland, or Lieutenant of the North, the latter post being granted to Fauconberg in 1461 and to Warwick in 1462.

Many of the commanders, particularly at company level, were not knights but experienced soldiers, though many of them were subsequently knighted on the field of battle. Lovelace was only an esquire, but rose to be Captain of Kent through his military skills. Trollope was another soldier who rose to high command, and was rewarded for his services by a knighthood at Second St. Albans. Men such as Trollope were frequently the military brains or 'staff officers' behind the magnates who led the 'battles'. On the other hand, constables of towns played a key role in recruiting contingents, and they may often have commanded companies, as may

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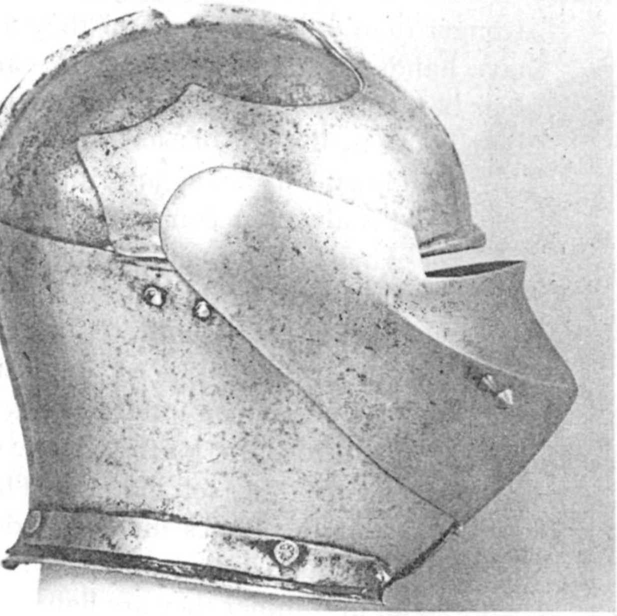
[1] See for contemporary Continental practices MAA 144, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy 1364–1477*.



The armet was a development of the earlier bascinet, the face being protected by two cheek pieces and a visor; note the reinforced brow on this example of c.1440–60, and the ridge with crest attachment hole. (Wallace Collection)

sheriffs. Such men may not have had any military skill.

Although the wars started with small armies of experienced soldiers, as time went on the proportion of veterans diminished and, generally speaking, the armies had insufficient cohesion for elaborate tactics: most battles began with an archery duel, which tended to cancel out the value of the longbow, followed by a vast and confused mêlée on foot. The commander of an army could do little once the mêlée commenced, though he might hold back a small mounted reserve under his personal command, or detach a formation prior to the battle to use in an outflanking manoeuvre.

Large numbers of the troops were mounted—not just the knights and esquires, but many of the men-at-arms. Some of these 'mounted infantry' were used as mounted scouts, flank guards and the like, but apart from an occasional mounted reserve of only 100 men or so, the armies dismounted to do battle, all horses being sent to the rear with the baggage. Primarily this was because of the weapons used and the fact that few mounted men were sufficiently experienced to fight effectively on horseback. However, the fact that many men of all arms were mounted did tend to lead to the formation of special vanguards of all-mounted troops, who were used to spearhead movement prior to a battle.

Because of the fear of treachery, it was essentia that the major commanders fight on foot to indicat their willingness to stand and die with their men. I was for this reason that so many of the nobles wer so easily killed or captured once their army wa defeated. The mounted reserves therefore tended t be composed of lesser knights or bodyguards, an were led by minor commanders, such as Sir Joh Grey of Codnor, an experienced soldier but a knigh of low rank and position, who led the Lancastria cavalry reserve at Second St. Albans.

Liveries and Badges

By 1450 the shield, the jupon or tabard, and th helmet crest were no longer used except a tournaments, and the identifying 'uniform' of th Wars of the Roses was therefore restricted to th standards which identified bodies of troops, th banners which identified individual knights, an the liveries and badges which were worn by th common soldiers.

Liveries were tunics or 'gowns' worn over bod armour and were generally in the principal colou of a lord's coat of arms, trimmed and sometime lined in the colour of his principal charge. Howeve the choice of colour for liveries was not governed b any heraldic law, and some liveries bore no relatio to the colours on the lord's coat of arms. Fo example, the retainers and followers of the grea Percy family wore a livery of russet, yellow an orange, with the blue lion rampant of the Perc arms on their shoulders, whereas the tinctures of th Percy arms were azure and or. Queen Margare had her men fitted out with a rudimentary unifor prior to Second St. Albans, and they are describe by one who marched among them (Pseud Gregory) as wearing their lords' liveries but wit Prince Edward's badge of ostrich feathers supe imposed on a bend of crimson and black.

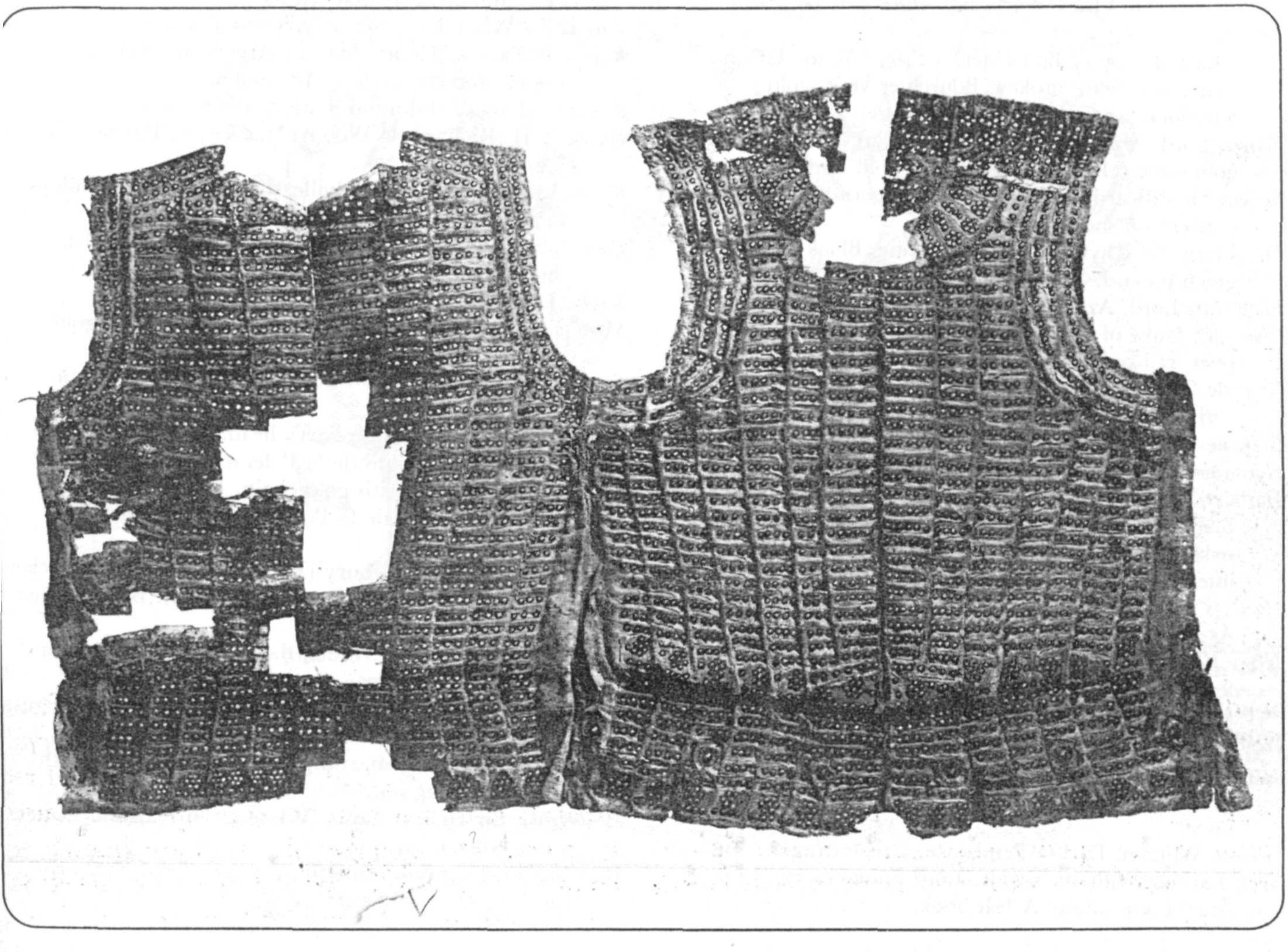
The companies raised by towns frequently had uniform livery. The 100 men raised by Coventry i 1455, for example, had a livery of green and re bends, while their captain wore a multi-coloure garment. The chamberlain of Nottingham's a counts for 1463–4 list 56s. 3d. spent on jackets f soldiers riding to the king at York. Red cloth w specified for the men, a fine red cloth for the captain, and a white fustian to make 'letters'—presumably some form of unit identification sewn onto the jackets. Henry VII's Yeomen of the Guard wore the white and green Tudor livery in vertical stripes with a red rose within a vine wreath on chest and back.

The right to use a badge was usually only granted by the king to those nobles who could field a large company, and the granting of a badge was usually accompanied by the right to use a standard. However, most lords during the Wars of the Roses invented and adopted badges for their own convenience. These badges took two forms: the personal badge or badges of a lord, which might be used only by him and were normally reserved for use on his badge-banner (the badge was commonly used on banners instead of the coat of arms during these wars); and the household badge or badges which were used to mark property and were worn on the tunics of his followers and retainers. The household badge was therefore a mark of ownership and/or allegiance and was generally but not always different from the charges borne on the lord's coat of arms. The badge was normally worn on the breast or shoulder of the livery tunic.

Because the household badges were widely used—on flags, liveries and all types of property (rather like the WD broad arrow, which was originally the badge of the person responsible for supplying the armed forces of the Crown)—they were far more widely known by the common people than the lord's arms. This familiarity was of great advantage in the confusion of battle, when a lord's company could follow or rally to a flag which bore the same badge as they wore on their own chests.

The following is a list of some of the liveries and badges worn during the Wars of the Roses. In all cases the main colour is quoted first. Note that some magnates used a number of different badges, divided here by semi-colons.

Surviving example of a 15th century brigandine, before restoration. (Department of the Environment)



List of major participants, with their liveries and badges (where known), taken from Ms. 2nd M.16 at the College of Arms:

Audley, Sir John. Or and gules. A butterfly.

Beaumont, Viscount (William Beaumont, 1438–1507). Argent. Elephant with castle full of soldiers on its back; a broom cod—both with a crescent for a difference.

Bourchier, Lord Berners. Or and Vert. Bourchier knot; white eagle on a tree branch.

Buckingham, Duke of (Humphrey Stafford, d.1460). A cart wheel in flames.

Buckingham, Duke of (Henry Stafford). Stafford knot.

Clarence, Duke of (George Plantagenet, son of Richard, Duke of York). A bull passant sable.

Clifford, Sir Henry. Argent. A wyvern's wings gules.

Conyers, Lord. Argent. A lion passant azure: a cross crosslet gules.

Dacres, of the North, Lord Ralph. Argent escallop united by Dacre knot gules to a ragged staff argent.

Daniel, Thomas, esquire to the Body(guard) of Henry VI. A lily.

Derby, Earl of (Thomas Stanley, d.1504). Tawney and Vert. A gold eagle's leg in 1475.

Devon, Earl of (Thomas Courtenay, d.1458). A white boar.

Dorset, Marquess of (Thomas Grey, d.1501). Argent and pink. A unicorn ermine.

Edward IV, Murrey and azure. White rose; white lion (March); white falcon within closed fetterlock or (Duke of York); sun in splendour; black dragon crowned or (Earl of Ulster); white hart on green mound.

Essex, Earl of (Henry Bourchier, d.1483). White falcon flying, one wing broken; Bourchier knot; gold fetterlock; water bouget; wine bottle.

Ferrers, Lord. Argent and gules. White greyhound running, gold crown: French wife's hood: gold horseshoe.

Ferrers, Sir Edward. Vert. Running unicorn ermine, black crescent on shoulder; mascle or.

Fitz Uryan, Sir Rhys ap Thomas. White. Black raven on green mound.

Fitzwalter, Lord. Azure. Gold star.

Gloucester, Duke of (Richard III). Azure and murrey. White boar; red bull.

Grey, de Codnor, Lord. Gules and vert. White badger within a tress with crown or.

Grey, de Ruthyn, Lord. Ragged staff sable.

Harington. Fret or Harington knot.

Hastings, Lord (William de, d.1483). Purple and azure. Black bull, horns and crown round neck gold; white sickle with gold handle and garb of same; three sickles interlaced.

Hastings & Hungerford, Lord (Edward de Hastings, d.1506). As William.

Henry VI Spotted panther passant guardant; two ostrich feathers crossed, white and gold; chained antelope. (Queen Margaret used a daisy).

Henry VII Argent and vert. Red dragon; gold portcullis; Tudor rose; white greyhound with red collar; gold fleur de lis; dun cow; falcon standing on a fetterlock; sun burst.

Herbert, William, Earl of Pembroke. Green dragon.

Kent, Earl of (William Neville, Lord Fauconberg, d.1463). Argent and azure. A fish hook.

Kent, Earl of (The Lord Grey). Gules. A gold wyvern.

Kent, Earl of (George Grey). Black ragged staff (1475).

Latimer, Lord. Human heart.

Lisle, Viscount (Edward Grey, d.1492). White lion with gold crown (1475).

Lovel, Viscount (Francis Lovel, d.1487). Square padlock.

Mortimer. White wolf.

Norfolk, Duke of (John Mowbray, d.1461). White lion: an ostrich feather erect.

Norfolk, Duke of (John Mowbray, d.1476). Azure and tawney. A white lion.

Norfolk, Duke of (John Howard). White lion with blue crescent on shoulder.

Norfolk, Duke of (Thomas Howard, d.1524). Argent and gules. White sallet (1475).

Norreys, John. esquire to Body(guard) of Henry VI. A conduit.

Northumberland, Earl of (Henry Percy, d.1489). White crescent; gold shacklebolt.

Northumberland, Earl of (Henry Algernon Percy, d.1527). Russet, yellow and tawney. Blue lion passant; white key crowned; gold manacles; white unicorn with gold crown round neck; falchion with black hilt or sheath.

Nottingham, Earl of (William Berkeley, from 1483). Red unicorn statant.

Oxford, Earl of (John de Vere, d.1513). White mullet charged with another of blue; blue boar statant.

Paston, Sir William. Gules. Gold circular chain.

Pembroke, Earl of. Gold draught horse.

Ponyngs, Sir Edward. Gules. White unicorn running; white key surmounted by gold crown.

Richard III White boar; sun in splendour; white rose.

Richmond, Earl of (Henry Tudor). Argent and vert. Red dragon; dun cow; white greyhound.

Richmond, Earl of (Edmund Tudor). Argent and vert.

Rivers, Earl (Richard de Woodville, d.1469). Pitcher and magpie.

Rivers, Earl (Anthony Woodville, d.1483). White escallops (1475).

Roos, Lord. Azure and or. Bulls head with gold crown; white water bouget.

Scrope, Lord. Argent. Cornish chough sable.

Shrewsbury, Earl of. Gules and sable. White hound; gold chanfron with three feathers.

Somerset, Duke of (Edmund Beaufort, d.1455). Portcullis with chains.

Stanley, Sir William. White hart's head.

Suffolk, Duke of (William de la Pole, d.1450). White lion; white ape's clog with gold chain.

Suffolk, Duke of (John de la Pole, d.1491). Suffolk knot; gold lion (1475).

Warwick, Earl of & Salisbury (Richard Neville). Red jackets with white ragged staffs on them (1458). Bear; ragged staff; both together.

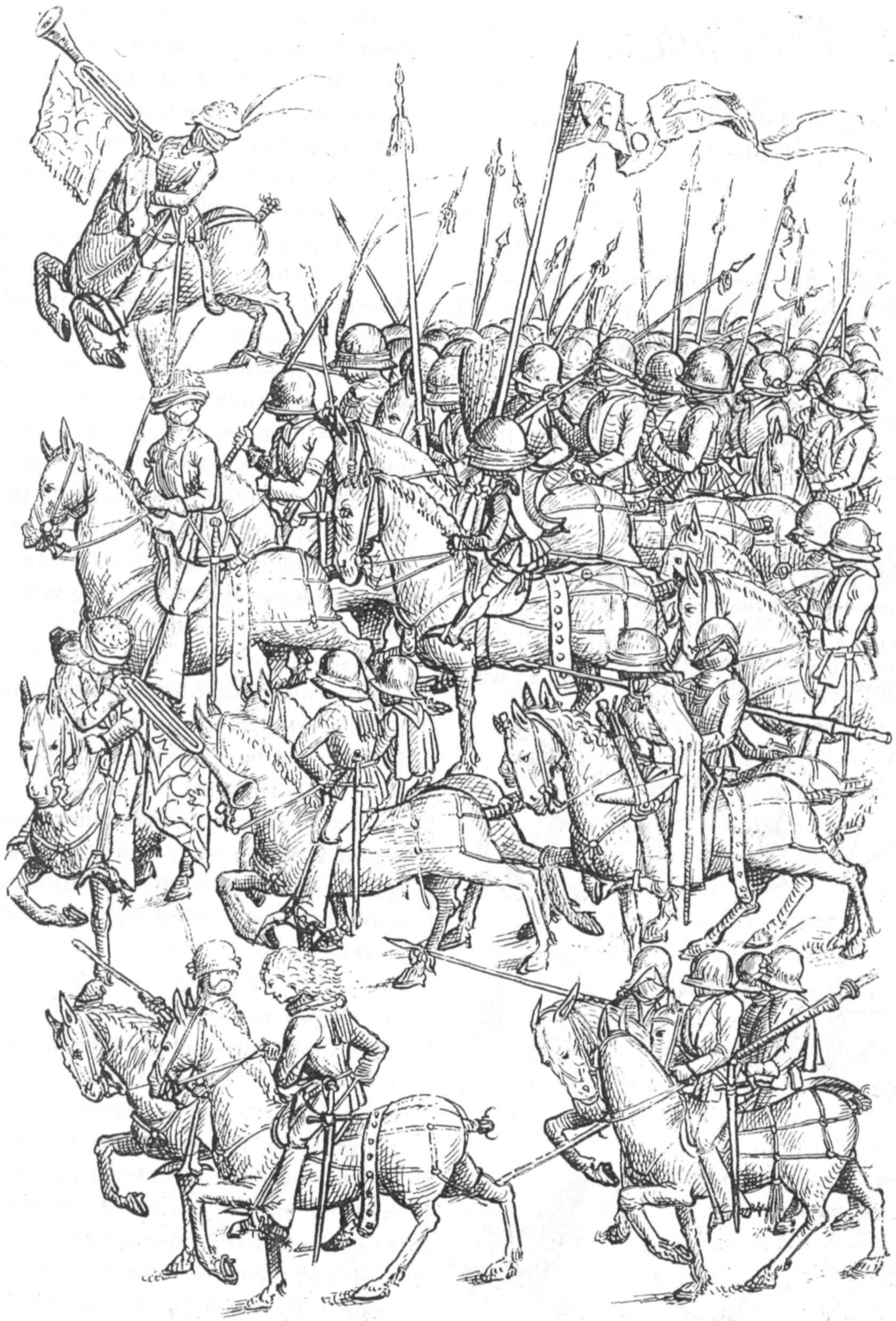
Welles, Lord (Lionel de Welles, d.1461). Bucket hanging from a pair of chains.

Welles, Viscount (John de Welles, d.1499). Two fleur de lis; bucket and chains as above.

Willoughby, Lord. Argent and gules. A Moor's head with tongue hanging out.

Willoughby, Sir Henry. Azure. White griffin passant; white water bouget.

Wiltshire, Earl of (John Stafford, d.1473). Gold Stafford knot.



Many Continental mercenaries fought in England during this period. This contemporary drawing, from a German source, shows mounted troops armed with lances, long thrusting swords, and in some cases crossbows. The costume is typical of the last quarter of the 15th century; sallets, and long turned-down boots, seem universal. No plate armour is visible, but jacks or other fabric and composite defences seem likely. (Courtesy Rufus Embleton)

Wiltshire, Earl of (Henry Stafford). Sable and gules. White swan, gold crown and chain; Stafford knot charged with red crescent.

York, Duke of (Richard Plantagenet, d. 1460). Argent and azure embroidered with fetterlock (1459). White falcon; gold fetterlock; white rose; white lion; black dragon; black bull with gold horns; ostrich feather.

York, Duke of (Edward IV). Azure and murrey.

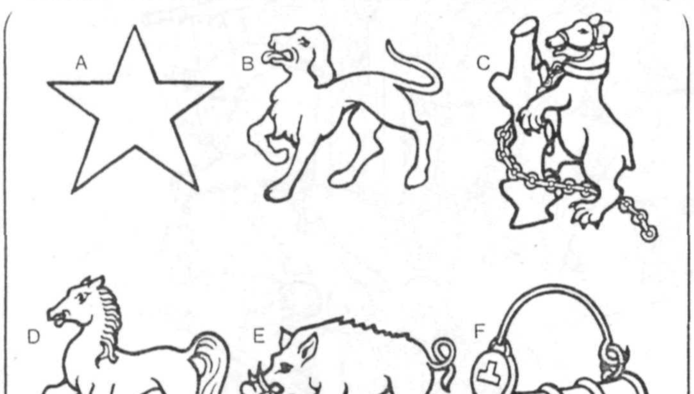
York & Norfolk, Duke of (Richard, son of Edward IV). White falcon flying, within a gold fetterlock.

The Plates

(Research by Terence Wise and G. A. Embleton)

Some interpreters of medieval costume, in peace and war alike, have a regrettable tendency to describe styles as 'medieval', ignoring the fact that this covers several hundred years of constantly changing fashions. Even to describe a footsoldier as wearing '15th century' costume is no more helpful than it would be to illustrate a British infantryman of the Crimean War as an example of British infantry throughout the period from 1845 to 1945!

Badges used by followers of families and individual leaders in the Wars of the Roses: (A) de Vere, Earls of Oxford (B) Talbot, Earls of Shrewsbury (C) Neville, Earls of Warwick (D) Fitz Alan, Earls of Arundel (E) Courtenay, Earls of Devon (F) Richard, Duke of York (G) Scales, Earl Rivers (H) Earls of Douglas (I) Lord Scrope of Bolton (J) Lord Grey of Codnor (K) Sir Ralph Hastings (L) Sir John Astley. (Drawings by William Walker)



In these plates we have attempted to tie figures down to within at least 25 years, which is possible through study of a range of contemporary illustrations and descriptions.

A general point worth making is that we always tend to under-estimate the sophistication of costumes and equipment of early armies; and to over-dramatise social rank. As the body of the text makes clear, 15th century armies were not composed only of rich noblemen and barefoot serfs; there was a wide range of well-paid and reasonably well turned-out town levies and professional soldiers in between these extremes. Their costumes were well made, to last, of stout woollen cloth. Vegetable dyes give a broad range of rich, bright colours, which faded gradually to give many subtle variations of shade. Armour, being an item with a long useful life, was probably of many different chronological styles within a given army; but study of contemporary pictures gives us a good idea of representative types. The oft-repeated theory that plate armour was too expensive for any but the nobility and their immediate retainers ignores the fact, proved by surviving account books, that there was a wide range of qualities of armour. A decorated armour made to measure for a nobleman might indeed cost a small fortune; but there are many references to large quantities of 'ammunition' armour being ordered for the infantry at a fraction of the cost.

A: Knights arming, 1450s

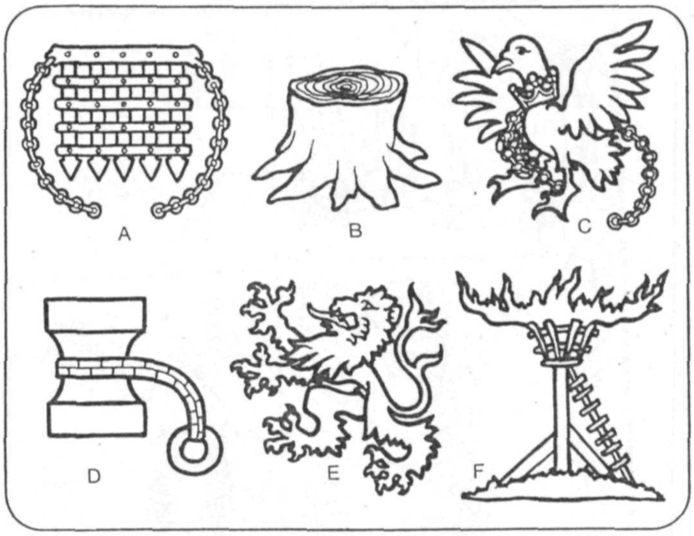
This shows two knights arming for battle in the 1450s. One is assisted by his squire, A1—a boy of good family acting as the servant of a knight while training for the knighthood himself. (Note that '*e*squire' was the term for a 14th and 15th century fighting man of a rank lower than knight.) The squire wears red hose and doublet, the latter just visible at the neck of the green jacket, and the long boots fashionable in this period. Note the lack of heels; the tab just visible above the turned-down top, which could be laced to the doublet by 'points'—stout cords; and the sideways fold visible on the front of the shin. Boots of the day were cut loosely, and tightened by folding a handful of leather outwards and attaching it by buckles or hooks and eyes. Over the chair behind him lie his master's cloak, with a pair of wood and leather 'pattens'—widely worn in this period as extra outdoor protection against wet and mud.

Both A2 and A3 wear armour in the north Italian style. Much research has still to be done before styles of armour manufacture can be classified by date and area with any great certainty, but some general comments are permissible. The great armour workshops of the Milan area are associated with a clean, function style almost devoid of decoration. (Note, however, that Italian armours are known to have been made for export in styles more popular in the intended market, even including the fluted Germanic style associated with such centres as Augsberg; so confident attribution of a particular piece is difficult.) Armours from all the main centres, particularly those of Italy and Flanders, were probably to be seen on the battlefields of the Wars of the Roses. The armet helmet at the right is an Italian style which became widely popular in 1450–1480.

We know little about the padded garments worn underneath plate armour, such as the arming doublet worn here by A3. The earliest surviving piece cannot be dated before the early 16th century. There are one or two simple illustrations, and some brief written descriptions, but nothing detailed enough to allow us to be dogmatic. Probably a wide range of styles was tried out over the years, and many would have followed this general appearance: a padded fabric garment, with areas of mail sewn to the surface at places liable to be exposed by the limitations or movements of plate armour, and with bunches of 'points' for attaching the different sections of plate by tying through small holes. Indirect evidence of the sophistication probably displayed by these arming doublets is suggested by several surviving early 16th century arming caps, for wear under tournament helms, which are preserved in Vienna. They have quilted padding which varies in thickness to give maximum protection at vulnerable points; rolls of padding to protect forehead, ears, cheeks and chin; a system of tapes to adjust the fit, and 'points' to attach them to the helmet.

B1: Dismounted man-at-arms, c.1455–60

This figure is based on an effigy of Robert, Lord Hungerford, of c.1455. It shows what might be either an English or a Netherlands armour; not a great deal is known about armour production in these areas. It is shown worn burnished and uncovered, as was often the case in this period. Italian and German trade routes met in Flanders, and armours made there and in England combined the two styles; note also extra tassets on the outside of each thigh, an English feature.

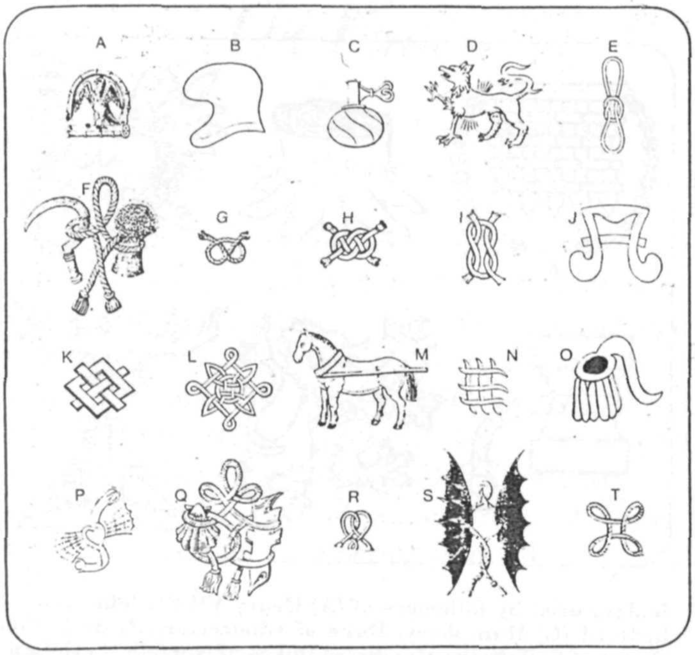


Badges used by followers of (A) Henry VII (B) John, Duke of Bedford (C) Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (D) de la Pole, Dukes of Suffolk (E) Mowbray, Dukes of Norfolk (F) Holland, Dukes of Exeter. (Drawings by William Walker)

The point is worth repeating that 'man-at-arms' was a term covering any fighting man equipped with full harness—a knight, an esquire, a member of the lesser gentry, or a sergeant in the bodyguard of a high-ranking knight.

Men-at-arms very often fought on foot in this period, and since the passing out of general use of the shield left both hands free a variety of pole arms were used, war hammers and pole axes being the most popular (note that 'pole axe' comes from 'poll axe', 'poll' being the contemporary term for 'head', and not from a reference to the shaft). There were many different combinations of axe blade, hammer head, beak and spike, mounted on shafts between three and five feet in length; metal strips below the head often protected the shaft from a lopping blow, and disc guards were often fitted to protect the hand from blades sliding down the shaft. Shafts were frequently shod with a strong spike. These heavy weapons could sometimes shatter plate armour.

In its complete form this armour would include a bevor to protect the neck and lower face, and an open-faced helmet of some kind—see Plate H; but



This further selection of badges shows (A) Richard, Duke of York—combination of his two badges of the white falcon and gold fetterlock. (B) The white 'sallet' of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk (C) Alternative, de Vere, Earls of Oxford (D) Ormond, Earl of Wiltshire (E) John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (F) The Lords Hastings (G) Stafford (H) Alternative Ormond (I) Bourchier (J) Harington (K) Lacy (L) Pembroke (M) Dodsley (N) Devereux (O) Ratcliff (P) Dacre (Q) Henage (R) Daubeney (S) Bowen

there are several contemporary accounts of men being injured because they had removed their bevor, sometimes in the thick of battle. It seems logical to suppose that the bevor limited free movement uncomfortably in the fast cut-and-dodge of foot combat, and that it was sometimes felt preferable to remove it even at the risk of injury.

B2: Dismounted man-at-arms, c.1470s

This man's armour shows the flutings, ridges and 'spikes' popular in Germany, which developed into the full magnificence of so-called 'Gothic' armour at the end of the century. Over it he wears a rich tabard, bearing the arms of John Field, Esquire; he owned large estates in Kent and Hertfordshire, and the figure is based upon his funerary brass at Standon, Hertfordshire. The jupon had gone out of fashion in about 1425; the tabard that replaced it, which may have been primarily for use in pageants and tournaments, appeared in both free-flowing (see B3) and waisted forms, and according to Laking was frequently worn in battle—where identification would obviously be important. The weapons are a sword, a war hammer, and a dagger.

B3: Dismounted man-at-arms, c.1470s

A typical man-at-arms, wearing a free-flowing tabard, slit at the sides, displaying the arms of John Flory; standard bearer to the Duke of Somerset at Tewkesbury, Flory was captured and executed after the battle. Beneath the tabard he probably wears a full harness of plate; but men-at-arms of lesser ranks such as sergeants and esquires, and even some knights, would probably have worn a brigandine beneath a breastplate and plackart, their only other plate defences being the leg armour essential for a mounted man. Sometimes men armed in this way formed the small mounted reserves held back from the main foot engagement. The helmet shown is a sallet, which he has lifted on to the back of his head for comfort and visibility—note the sturdy buckled chinstrap. On the top is a decorative gilded ball; there is plentiful evidence for rich decoration of helmets and armours. Sallets of various shapes seem to have been the most popular helmets at this time; English and Flemish sallets often had rather pointed skulls. Again, as with the other figures, note that the bevor which was designed for wear with this form of helmet is left off.

The point can hardly be made too often that the image of the fully armed knight as a shambling colossus unable to move without great difficulty and prone to perish like a turned turtle if knocked over, is greatly exaggerated. It is partly based on 19th-century misinterpretation of surviving tournament armours of late date, which were much more massive than earlier battle armours, being designed to encase as heavily as possible a man with no need for agility and facing only a simple frontal impact in the lists.

The weight of a battle armour was between 50 and 70lbs—less than the full field equipment of a cavalryman of the late 19th century, and less than the load carried by British assault waves on the Somme in 1916. The weight was so evenly distributed over the body that a fit man could move with ease, mount a horse, leap, fight, and rise from the ground. Experiments have shown that a very fi man can even perform some gymnastics in armour and there exists a 15th-century drawing of an armoured man doing a handstand or 'cartwheel'. The relative ease with which knocked-over knight could apparently be dispatched was probably du to their being momentarily stunned or winded b the blow or the fall, and the limited vision afforded by most types of helmet, which would put them at a brief but fatal disadvantage. Battle damage such as dents or distortions suffered on or near a joint, or the track of a 'sliding rivet', would also impair agility for the few moments necessary to close with them for the *coup de grace*.

C: Footsoldiers of the 1450s and 1460s

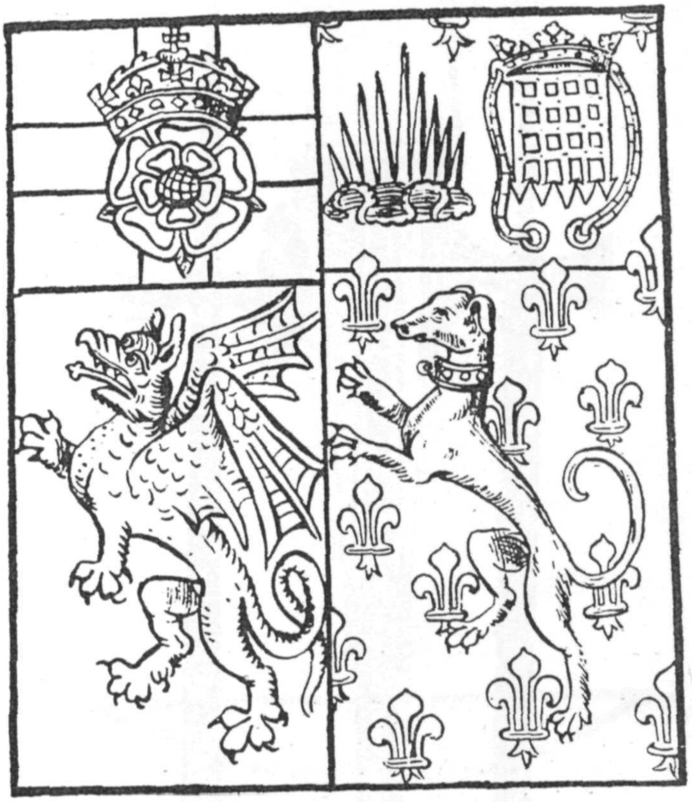
C1: Crossbowman

A composite figure from several sources. The Royal Ms. 14, E.IV shows crossbowmen wearing a variety of body defences: livery jackets over mail hauberks and plate arm defences, as here; mail shirts and brigandines; and livery jackets with mail shirts but without limb armour. Full breastplates, or plackarts over other defences, might be worn by these arbalestiers, and during episodes of siege warfare pavises were used. Helmets varied as widely as among all classes of footsoldier. Some examples of bascinets with mail aventails are known, although this style was now 50 years old. This soldier wears a visored sallet; the small tufted crest is shown on this type of helmet in a mid-15th century manuscript. His red livery jacket, bearing the ragged staff badge of the Earl of Warwick, is from a document of 1458. He carries a heavy steel-stave crossbow, whose bolts could crack over-hardened armour plate if the angle of impact was close to 90°—they struck with twice the force of a longbow arrow.

C2: Crossbowman

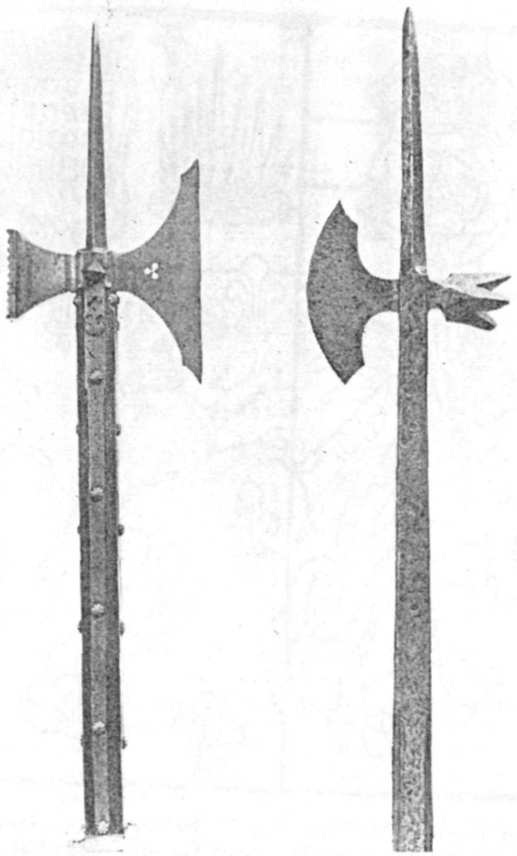
An arbalestier wearing Edward IV's livery colours of azure and murrey on a sleeved jacket, probably over a mail shirt; plate appears only in the form of poleyns strapped over the hose to protect the knees. His helmet is a kettle hat of small proportions. He is spanning his composite-stave crossbow with a crannequin, a rack-and-pinion winch which enabled the experienced bowman to fire three or even four times a minute, if modern tests are valid—the slowness and unhandiness of this weapon has probably been over-emphasised by some historians.

C3: Soldier with firepot



A design from *Prince Arthur's Book* (Henry VII's eldest son), showing the badges of the House of Tudor: cross of St. George and crowned Tudor rose; sunburst, crowned portcullis; dragon; fleur-de-lis, and greyhound.

Several portrayals of English troops using 'Greek fire' projectiles are to be found in contemporary manuscripts; this figure is loosely based upon the Royal Ms 14, E.IV, which is unusual in showing its use during a siege, since most illustrations show it as a weapon of naval warfare. We take the appearance entirely from the manuscript, but must presume the material—an earthenware pot, to shatter on impact, seems most likely. The body defences are typical of the period in that they are built up of several layers. Note that mail breeches or *brais d'acier* are worn beneath a quilted, stuffed jack, and a mail shirt is worn over it. Over this is a brigandine, frequently worn by footsoldiers of the period, commoners and nobles alike. It was made from two or more layers of canvas or leather, with rows of small horn or iron plates riveted between them; iron plates were sometimes tinned, coppered or varnished against rust. The plates overlapped slightly, allowing flexibility of movement without loss of protection; this would not be the case with plates butted edge to edge. The brigandine often had an outer layer of velvet or some other richer fabric; the rivets, normally shown as grouped in triangles of three, sometimes had a gilded finish for decorative effect. Over the brigandine this soldier wears a plate plackart, strapped at the back. The 'bollock' knife was a popular form of the time. The sheepskin



Two types of typical 15th century pole axe, as widely used by men-at-arms fighting on foot. The left hand weapon is French, of c.1470; the right, possibly French of c.1400–50. Shafts were between four and six feet long. (Wallace Collection)

mittens, with separate thumbs and forefingers, are of contemporary design, but speculative here: there must have been some protection from the flaming pot.

C4: Archer

Taken from a mid-15th century manuscript illustration, this soldier wears a long mail shirt or hauberk, with a quilted and studded fabric armour, the studs almost certainly securing internal plates: the exact construction is not clear. Other archers in the manuscript wear a hauberk beneath a brigandine with a plackart over all, but few wear any plate defences on legs or arms—mobility was of more importance to an archer than the ability to trade blows face to face. Archers usually wore close-fitting helmets such as the various types of visored or open-faced sallet, or soft hats: a brimmed kettle hat would have interfered with the bowstring in action. This costume is probably fairly typical of the 'full-time' soldiers of the contract companies.

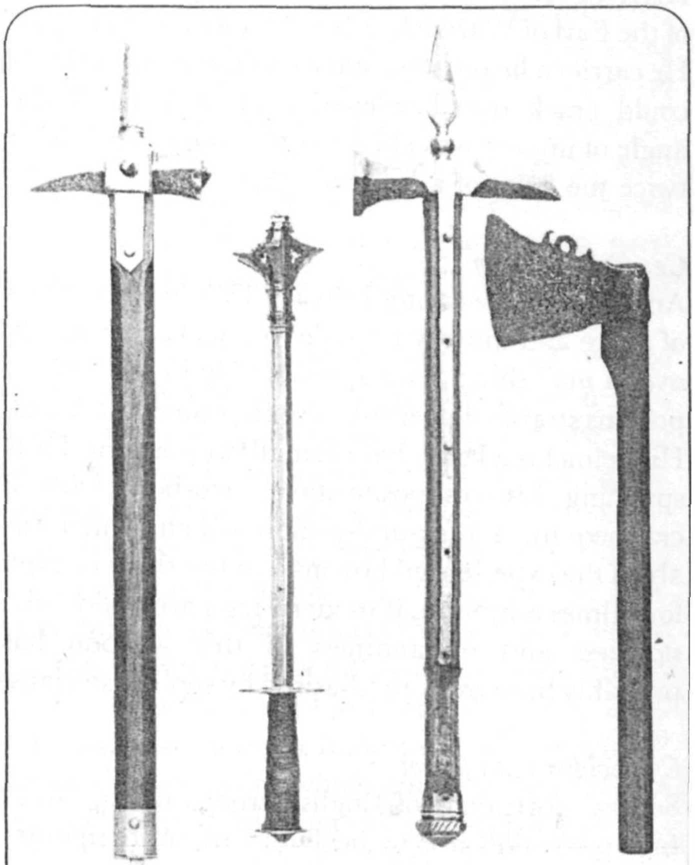
With longbowmen on both sides, the supremacy of the longbow was cancelled out unless some special factor intervened, as at Towton. In any case, men-at-arms in plate armour could endure any amount of archery without coming to much harm, provided it was not at short range, and provided they protected the vulnerable face and the mail areas at armpit, elbow and knee.

D: Footsoldiers of the 1460s and 1470s

D1: Billman

This soldier, armed with an English bill, is probably untypically well protected in that he has full plate leg armour and gauntlets in addition to his jack; but he is otherwise as described by contemporary eyewitnesses of the levy troops raised for 'part time' service by towns or estates. He wears a visorless sallet—these were sometimes painted, against rust. The jack is made of several layers of canvas or other fabric stuffed with soft material such as tow, secured evenly in place by stitched quilting. These 'soft armours', used by many cultures at various periods in history, gave surprisingly good protection against edged and pointed weapons. His side arms are a

Two war hammers, a mace and an axe of the mid- to late-15th century. (Wallace Collection)



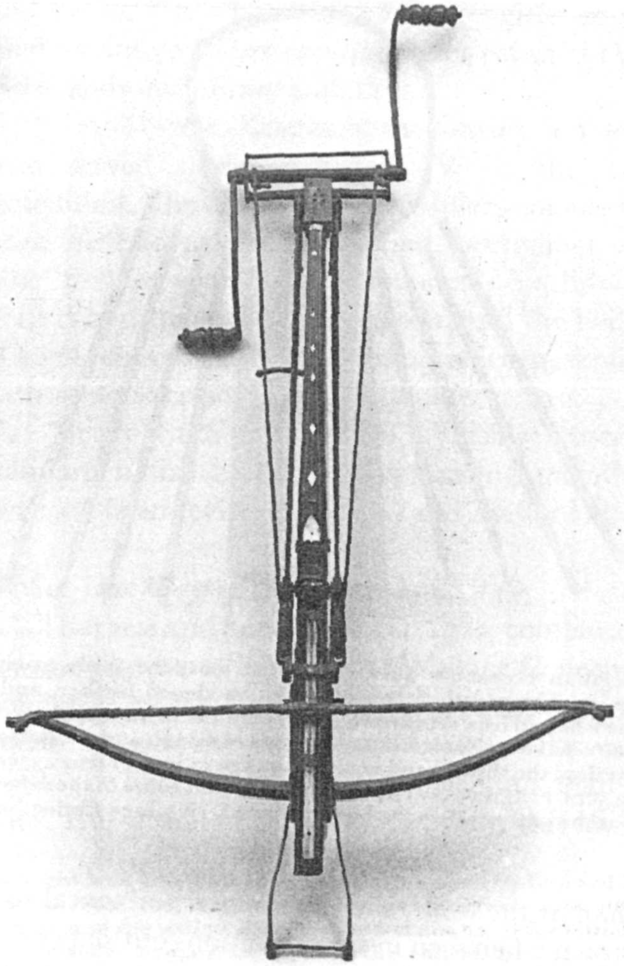
rondel dagger and a short falchion; a small round iron buckler or 'target' was normally carried slung to the hilt. We have omitted the livery jackets which both D1 and D3 would normally have worn, for clarity.

D2: Archer

This longbowman has the visor of his visored sallet raised; note forked chinstrap. The contemporary description of 'black' helmets does not always mean a painted surface; the term was used for steel items left 'black', i.e. unpolished, as they came from the forge. He wears a livery jacket, whose design we take from contemporary manuscript illustrations, adding to the breast a reconstruction of the badge of Sir William Paston's men. Beneath this are a sleeveless padded jack, and a loosely-cut green woollen jacket. Most of this man's costume is typical of civilian clothing of the last quarter of the century. He would wear a shirt and short underpants, over which would be woollen hose and a doublet, invisible here but probably long-sleeved and tight-fitting, and laced to the hose with 'points'. The hose—which despite having different coloured legs would by this date have been made in one piece, like low-cut tights, rather than having the separate legs of earlier in the century—are worn with short, loose leather boots. The woollen cloth of doublets and hose was cut 'on the bias', and had an elasticity almost unknown today.

The arrows for the self-wood war bow are carried in a large canvas bag slung behind him. Belts support a sword with a simple cruciform hilt, a 'bollock' dagger, and—slung on the hilt of the sword—a small buckler or 'target'. This was often less than a foot across, made of iron, with a sharply domed boss covering the recessed handgrip. Some had a convex surface, others a concave surface which, with the domed boss, gave a cross-section rather like a flattened 'W'. They were used as fist-shields, for parrying blows in close combat. An archer's bracer is strapped to the left forearm; shooting gloves are also mentioned in contemporary descriptions, but we have no direct reference to their design.

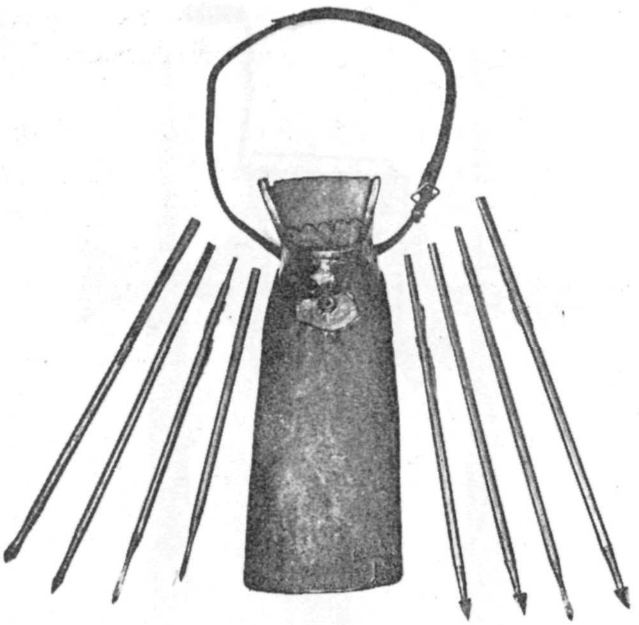
The term 'levies' might suggest to us an ill-equipped rabble, but contemporary documents make clear that this was far from the truth. Minimum standards of equipment were laid down by regulation for the men selected by their lord or their town council: each had a sallet, a jack, a sword and buckler, and either a bow or a pole arm. The Mancini description of 1483, quoted in the body of the text, supports the view of these levies as seriously prepared soldiers.



This crossbow, with a steel stave, is 16th century, but is relevant in showing the loading windlass in place. The 'stirrup' foot braces were sometimes, as in this case, two iron rods with a leather strap. (Castle Museum, York)

D3: Halberdier

Men armed with pole weapons might wear brigandines, but the jack is probably more typical, often worn over mail, and with or without some plate limb armour. This example has long sleeves, with bunches of 'points' on the outer surface for the attachment of the chains or narrow linked plates which were sometimes worn as extra protection. (Again, as with D1, a livery jacket would often be worn, but has been omitted here to show details of the jack.) The helmet, worn over a caped cloth hood, is a kettle hat with the brim longer at the back



German crossbow quiver of wood covered with rawhide, c.1470. The mouth is covered with hardened leather, and the back has an iron reinforcing plate; the 'lid' is missing here. The bolts have various heads, both pyramidal and of flattened section; the thick wooden shafts range in length from 33cm to 49.5cm. Fragments of fletching remain on some of them; wood, leather and parchment were all used. (Wallace Collection)

than at the front; the brim is not horizontal to the crown when seen in side elevation, but slopes down towards the back. The line of rivets around the base of the crown are for the attachment of the fabric lining; all iron helmets required some kind of padded inner cap, or a blow would fracture the skull even without penetrating.

The sword is of the falchion type which became popular for infantry during the wars. A 'target' would normally hang from the hilt, but is omitted here for clarity. Note sharpening-steel in small sheath on the face of the sword scabbard.

E: Continental mercenaries, 1460s to 1470s

E1: Burgundian handgunner

Burgundy supplied many mercenaries during the wars, and a small contingent of handgunners is known to have fought for the Earl of Warwick at Second St. Albans. Handguns were well-established weapons by this period, and reasonably efficient. Over red doublet and hose this soldier wears a padded jack with the fashionable puffed shoulders (for some reason, specifically forbidden to the handgunners of Charles the Bold's army) and scalloped lower edge. Over the jack is strapped a breastplate; and beneath it can be seen the short mail *brais d'acier*, mentioned in contemporary Burgundian ordinances. Small iron skull-caps of many forms were very popular. Bullets are carried in a pouch, and powder in a gourd. The bronze-barrelled handgun is taken, like the other features of this figure, from contemporary Continental chronicles and paintings. The function of the hole in the butt is unclear—perhaps to take a thong or cord? Swiss chronicles seem to indicate that at least some of these guns had fairly sophisticated matchlock actions with trigger or button release mechanisms.

E2: German gunner

These well-paid specialists were among the most expensive of the mercenaries, although they were not able to command the very high sums paid earlier in the century. Even so, this man wears a costume arguing some prosperity. The use of several different layers of clothing and defences on the torso is typical. Beneath a good-quality velvet-covered brigandine with gilded rivets he wears a sleeveless jack with fringed shoulders, and a mail shirt, over a yellow doublet. A Burgundian rondel dagger hangs at the waist. He is examining made-up charges carried in a typical ammunition chest of the 1470s. Both sides in the wars used field cannon, but they did not have a marked effect on the outcome of any of the pitched battles, partly due to bad weather and partly to problems of mobility. They were much more effective during the limited siege warfare of these campaigns, when their presence alone often induced a garrison to surrender. The guns themselves are not illustrated here, as fuller details and illustrations are to be found in MAA 144, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy 1364–1477*.

E3: Flemish pikeman

Considerable numbers of Swiss and Flemings served in England during the wars. Their performance in battle is not recorded; but they do not seem to have had the dramatic effect which often attended their use on the Continent. Perhaps this was because they were in insufficient numbers at any given engagement; because they were confronted by men-at-arms on foot armed with pole weapons, rather than mounted knights; or because they were especially vulnerable to the longbow, having no equivalent weapon themselves. Over his doublet and hose this pikeman wears a mail shirt, a breastplate with fauld and tassets, and a sallet helmet over a caped leather or fabric hood. (The term 'sallet' was used very widely to describe helmets of a variety of shapes, including this type, which has sometimes been termed a 'barbute' through its resemblance to the Italian helmet of that name.) Apart from his pike, which would have a long, triangular-section, tapered head, he is armed with a sword, a 'target', and a Flemish 'bollock' dagger.

F, G: Standards

The personal standards of leading commanders usually displayed the livery colours and bore the badge or badges of the individual; there might be changes from time to time in the design of one man's standard, especially if he were a member of the royal family or a very powerful nobleman holding several titles. The standards illustrated here are taken from a Tudor manuscript, drawn c.1531, but showing many standards of c.1475.

F1: Edward IV, bearing the white lion badge which he used as Earl of March as well as the white rose of the House of York. His livery colours of azure and murrey—a mulberry red—appear in the border as well as the field. The standards used by both sides in the Wars of the Roses bore the cross of St. George, for England, in the hoist.

F2: The standard of Edward IV as King of England, bearing the crowned lion badge of England. Roses—red, white and gold—are mentioned as emblems used by the House of Plantagenet from the time of Edward I, and the red rose does not seem to have become the sole property of the Lancastrians until the Tudor claim to the throne was advanced very late in the wars.

F3: Henry VII, in the Tudor livery colours and bearing the white greyhound badge used by Henry when Earl of Richmond together with the red rose of Lancaster.

F4: Henry VII, bearing the 'red dragon dreadful' of Cadwalader, 'emitting flames'—a badge he used both as Earl of Richmond and as king.

G1: John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who fell at Bosworth Field in 1485. His badge in c.1475 was the white lion of Segrave, while that of his son Sir Thomas, who succeeded him as duke, was a silver sallet.

G2: Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, bearing the badge of an 'eygelle . . . wyth swedylled chyld . . . and eygells fett'. The badge of an eagle's leg was used by Stanley when serving under Edward IV in Normandy and France in 1475.

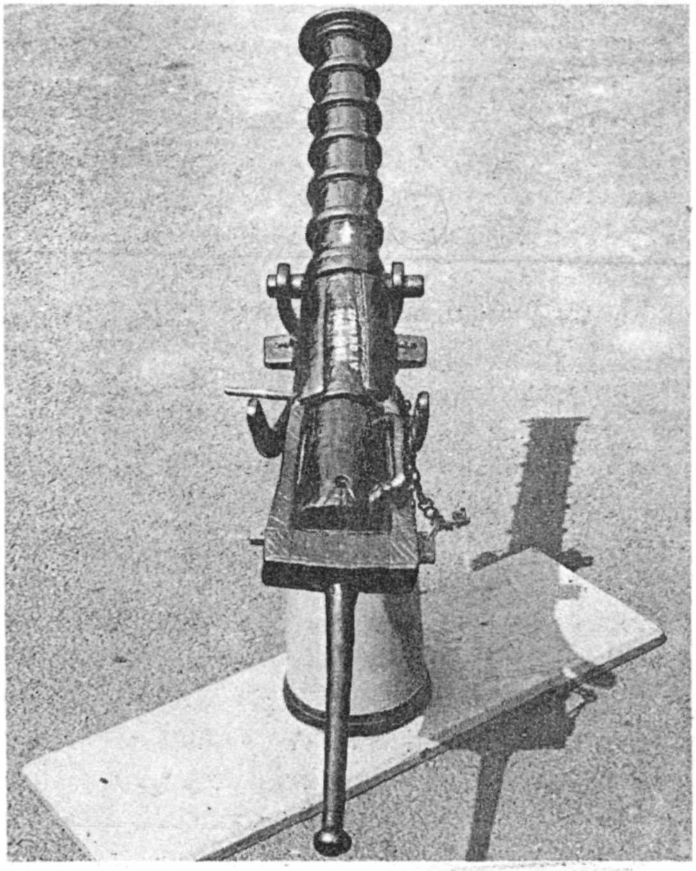
G3: Lord Ferrers, Knight of the Garter, a Yorkist who served under Edward IV in the 1475 expedition. The standard is in his livery colours and bears his badges of a greyhound, horseshoes, and blue 'frenshe wyfes' hoods bounden'. Sir Edward Ferrers had the livery colour green and the badges of a golden mascle and a running unicorn, ermine, with a black crescent on its shoulder.

G4: Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, used a standard in his livery colours bearing the white swan (of Mandeville or Bohun) and Stafford knots.

H: Sir John Cheyney and man-at-arms, 1485

A full harness and horse bard of c.1480, comparable in some respects to items in the Wallace Collection, London. This is a German harness, of the most up-to-date type at the time of the battle of Bosworth Field. The banner carried by the attendant man-at-arms, H2, is that of Sir John Cheyney; this knight

Wrought iron breech-loading *peterara* gun used by Edward IV's troops. Note the removable powder chamber with lifting handle, and the wedge, attached by a chain, used for jamming the chamber in position against the end of the barrel. The mount is modern.



actually fought hand-to-hand with Richard III at Bosworth, and 'though a man of great strength, was hurled to the ground'. Note the deep sallet worn with a bevor; the lance rest on the right side of the breastplate; and the long, sharply-tapered thrusting sword which became common when the near-perfection of plate armours reduced the usefulness of the edge, as opposed to the point. The very complete mail and plate horse armour weighs around 60 to 70lbs, and the knight's armour and sallet about 60lbs.

The man-at-arms, H2, wears items characteristic of Continental styles of the day. The broad-brimmed, round kettle hat is covered with some rich fabric and ornamented with Venice gold; this, and the loose mail sleeves, were popular in France. The breastplate is Milanese, perhaps purchased through the Burgundian possessions in Flanders.

Notes sur les planches en couleur

A Un page aide deux chevaliers à revêtir leur armure. Le style de l'armure est italien et est caractérisé par de larges plaques lisses sans décoration. A droite, le doublet matelassé porté sous l'armure à plates, avec ensemble de mailles cousues sur la surface aux endroits qui pourraient se trouver exposés lors du mouvement de l'armure à plates, et liasses de cordon pour attacher les plates. Le type de casque 'armet', sur la caisse, commençait à devenir à la mode à la fin du 15ème siècle.

B Les chevaliers combattaient souvent à pied à cette époque, avec des haches d'armes, etc. Souvent l'armure était portée polie et découverte—'armure blanche'—comme **B1**, d'après la tombe de Robert, Lord Hungerford, c. 1455; c'est une armure complète anglaise ou flamande, associant quelques caractéristiques du style italien et du style allemand. **B2** porte un tabard avec les armoiries de John Field, Esquire, un propriétaire foncier du Hertfordshire. **B3** porte un tabard lâche et fendu portant les armoiries de John Flory, porte-étendard du Duke of Somerset, tué à Tewkesbury. Le casque 'sallet' était souvent porté sans 'bevor'.

C Fantassins des années 1450–60. **C1** Arbalétrier portant la livrée du Earl of Warwick. **C2** Arbalétrier dans la livrée d'Edward IV. **C3** Soldat jetant un pot de terre cuite de 'feu grégeois'; remarquez les nombreuses couches de protection portées, caractéristiques de l'infanterie à cette époque—mailles, 'brigandine', 'jack' rembourré et 'plackart'. **C4** Archer portant un type quelconque de 'jack' rembourré avec probablement de petites plates rivetées à l'intérieur.

D Fantassins des années 1460–70. **D1** Mélange d'armure à plates et d'armure d'étoffe. **D2** Veste dans les couleurs de la livrée, avec insigne des hommes de Sir William Paston, portée sur le 'jack' rembourré. **D3** Notez le sabre 'falchion' en vogue à cette époque. Les manches du 'jack' ont des lanières pour attacher des plqucs étroites ou des chaines, que l'on peut voir parfois sur les tableaux. D1 et D3 porteraient normalement une veste de livrée, cependant nous les avons omises ici pour présenter plus clairement les 'jacks'.

E1 Arquebusier bourguigon; son costume est tiré des documents et des tableaux de l'armée de Charles le Téméraire. **E2** Canonnier allemand, un spécialiste chèrement payé, portant un costume coûteux. Notez les charges de poudre mesurées et prêtes à l'emploi dans le coffre en bois, une caractérisque que l'on trouvait déjà dès les années 1470. **E3** Un piquier flamand portant une considérable armure de plates et de mailles.

F, G Etendards; les légendes en anglais sont explicites.

H Chevaliers de 1485; Sir John Cheyney, dont la bannière est portée par l'homme d'armes et qui a combattu corps à corps avec Richard III à Bosworth Field. Le chevalier porte le tout dernier modèle d'armure à plates décorée selon le style allemand, avec 'sallet' et 'bevor'; son cheval est revêtu d'un ensemble assorti d'armure à plates. Ces armures au travail raffiné étaient loin d'être aussi encombrante qu'on le croit souvent: l'armure complète de l'homme pesait environ 27kg et celle du cheval environ 32kg. Le poids était si bien réparti sur l'ensemble du corps que l'agilité d'un homme fort et en bonne santé se trouvait à peine diminuée. L'homme d'armes porte un casque recouvert d'étoffe avec décorations dorées, caractéristique commune à cette époque.

Farbtafeln

A Ein Knappe hilft zwei Rittern beim Anlegen der Rüstung. Die Rüstung ist im italienischen Stil, erkennbar an den grossen, glatten, ungeschmückten Platten. Rechts das unter einem Plattenpanzer getragene gefütterte Wams mit eingenähten Kettenflächen, wo es bei Bewegung des Plattenpanzers ungeschätzt war, und mit Schnüren zum Festbinden an die Platten. Der 'armet' Helm auf der Kiste wurde im späten 15. Jahrhundert populär.

B Während dieser Periode kämpften Ritter oft zu Fuss, mit Streitäxten u. a. Waffen. Die Rüstung war häufig poliert und unbedeckt ('Weisse Rüstung') wie in **B1**, auf das Grab von Robert, Lord Hungerford (ca. 1455) zurückgehend; eine englische oder flämische Rüstung mit sowohl italienischen als auch deutschen Merkmalen. **B2** trägt einen Wappenrock mit dem Wappen von John Field, Esquire, ein Gutsbesitzer in Hertfordshire. **B3** trägt einen losen, geschlitzten Wappenrock mit dem Wappen von John Flory, Standartenträger des Duke of Somerset, der bei Tewkesbury fiel. Der Sallet-Helm wurde oft ohne Bevor getragen.

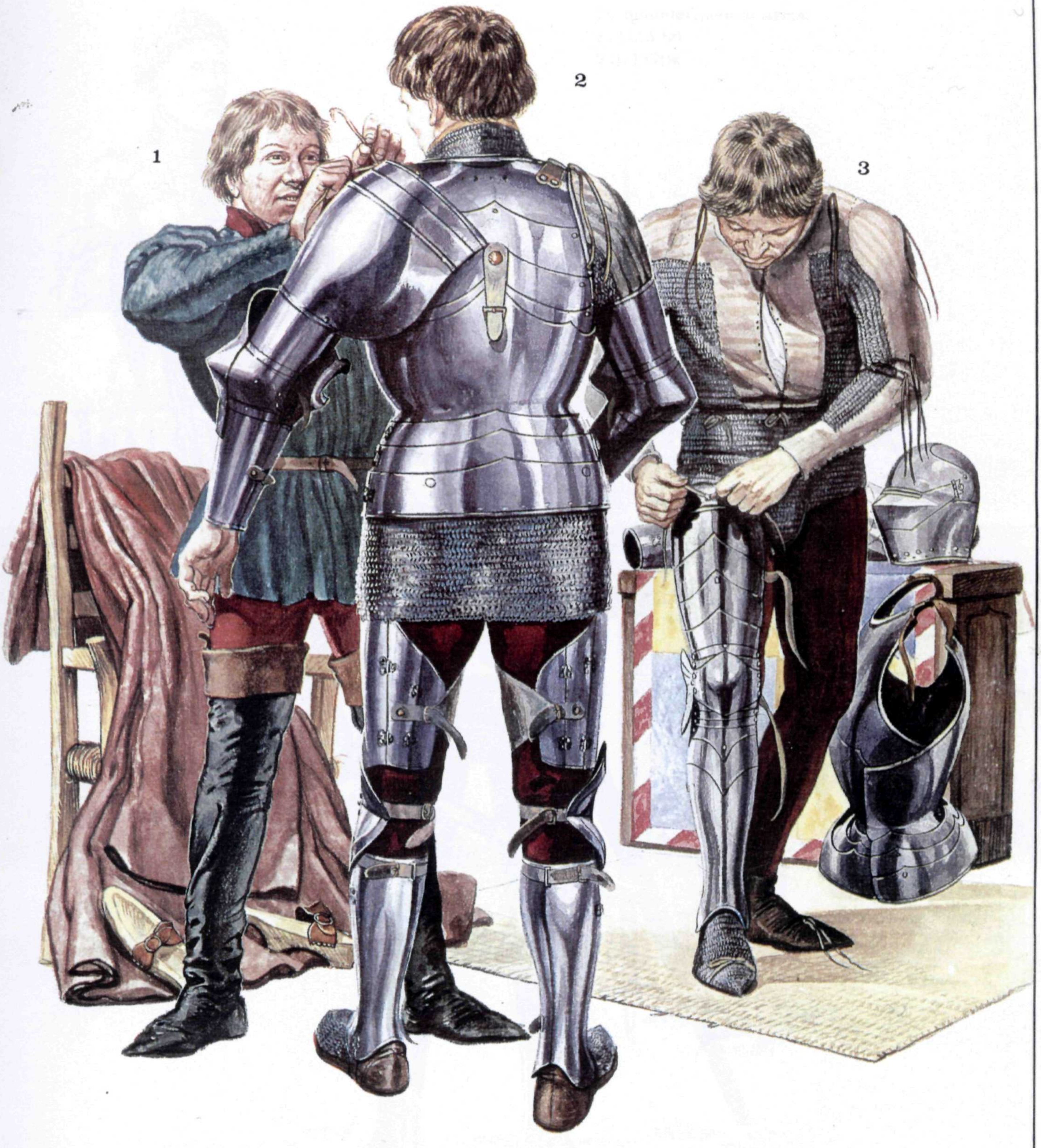
C Fussvolk 1450–60er Jahre. **C1** Armbrustschütze in der Livree des Earl of Warwick. **C2** Armbrustschütze in der Livree Edwards IV. **C3** Ein Soldat wirft einen irdenen Topf mit 'griechischem Feuer'; man beachte die zahlreichen Schichten von für die Infanterie dieser Periode typischen Schutzkleidung—Kettenhemd, Brigandine, gefütterte Jack und Plackart. **C4** Bogenschütze mit einer Art gefüterte Jack, vermutlich mit genieteten kleinen Platten innen.

D Fussvolk 1460–70er Jahre. **D1** Gemischter Platten- und Stoffpanzer. **D2** Jacke in Livreefarben mit dem Abzeichen der Leute von Sir William Paston über der gefütterten Jack getragen. **D3** Man beachte das Falchion-Schwert, zu jener Zeit sehr verbreitet. Die Ärmel der Jack haben Rieman für das Anbringen von kleinen Platten oder Ketten, die man manchmal auf zeitgenössischen Gemälden sieht. D1 und D3 würden normalerweise Livreejacken tragen, die wir hier auslassen, um die Jacks deutlicher zu zeigen.

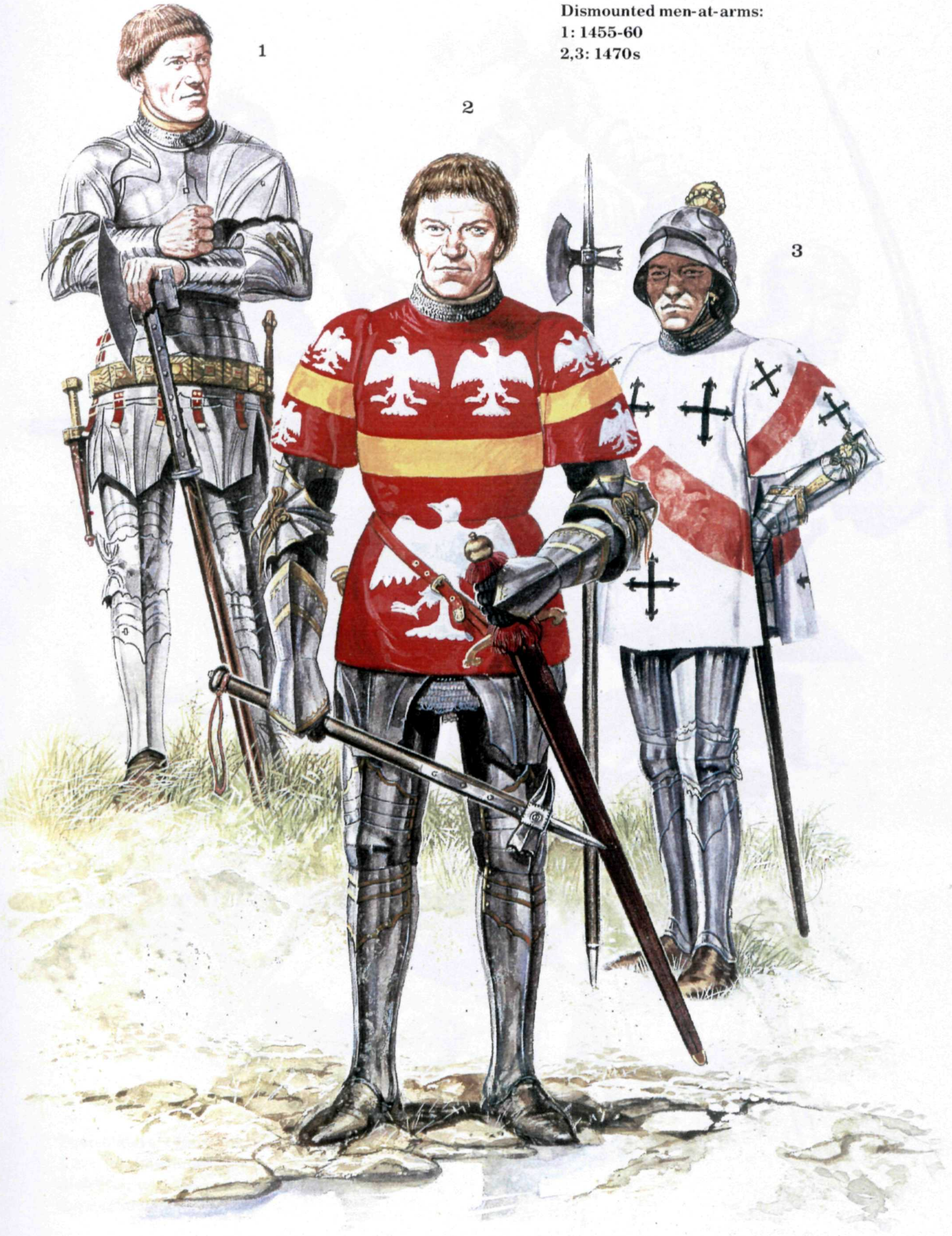
E1 Burgundischer Handschütze; das Kostüm basiert auf Dokumenten und Bildern über die Armee Karls des Kühnen. **E2** Deutscher Kanonier, ein hochbezahlter Spezialist mit kostbarem Kostüm. Man beachte die vorbereiteten Schiesspulverportionen in der Holzkiste, die bereits in den 1470er Jahren auftauchen. **E3** Flämischer Pikenträger mit grossem Platten- und Kettenpanzer.

F, G Standarten, die englischen Bildunterschriften sprechen für sich.

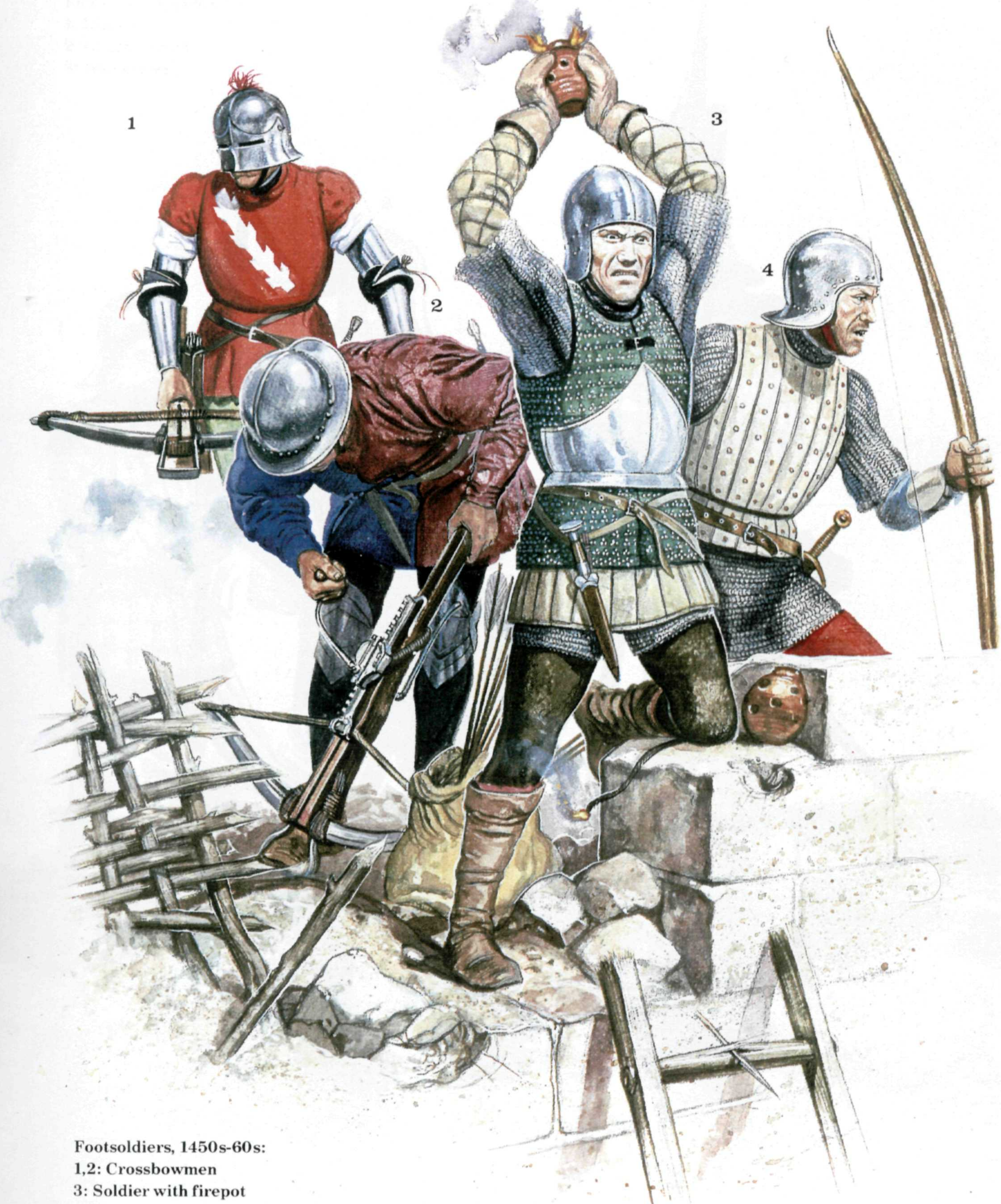
H Ritter aus dem Jahre 1485; Sir John Cheyney, dessen Panier der Gewappnete trägt, kämpfte bei Bosworth Field Mann gegen Mann mit Richard III. Der Ritter trägt den neuesten Kettenpanzer im geschmückten deutschen Stil, mit Sallet und Bevor, sein Pferd hat ebenfalls einen passenden Panzer. Diese kostbar gearbeiteten Rüstungen waren keineswegs so hinderlich wie es häufig angenommen wird: die Rüstung wog etwa 27kg, der Pferdepanzer etwa 32kg. Das Gewicht war so gleichmässig über den ganzen Körper verteilt, dass ein starker, gesunder Mann in seiner Beweglichkeit kaum eingeschränkt war. Der Gewappnete trägt einen mit Stoff bedeckten, dekorierten Helm, ein verbreitetes Merkmal in dieser Zeit.



Knights arming, 1450s

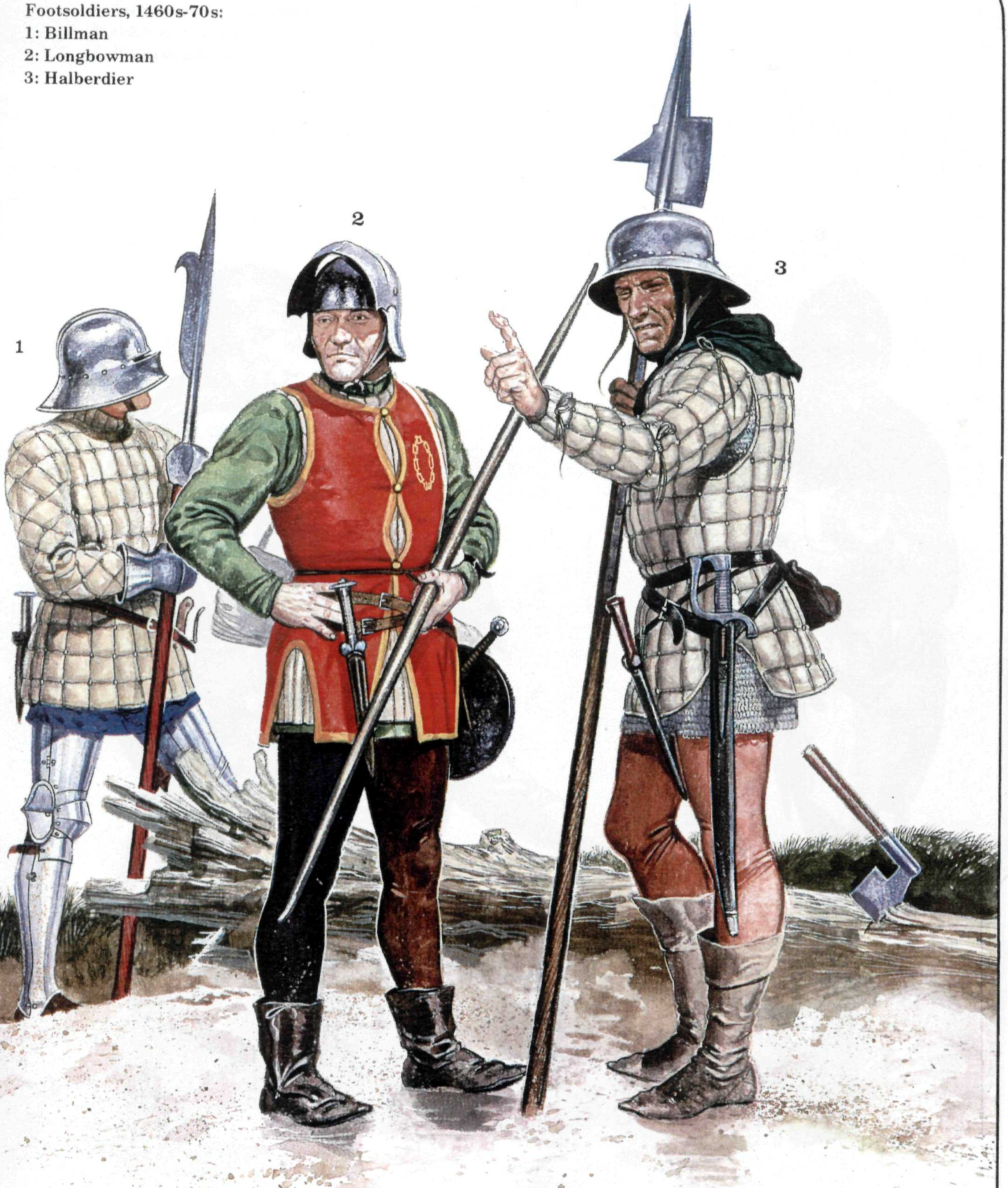


Dismounted men-at-arms:
1: 1455-60
2,3: 1470s

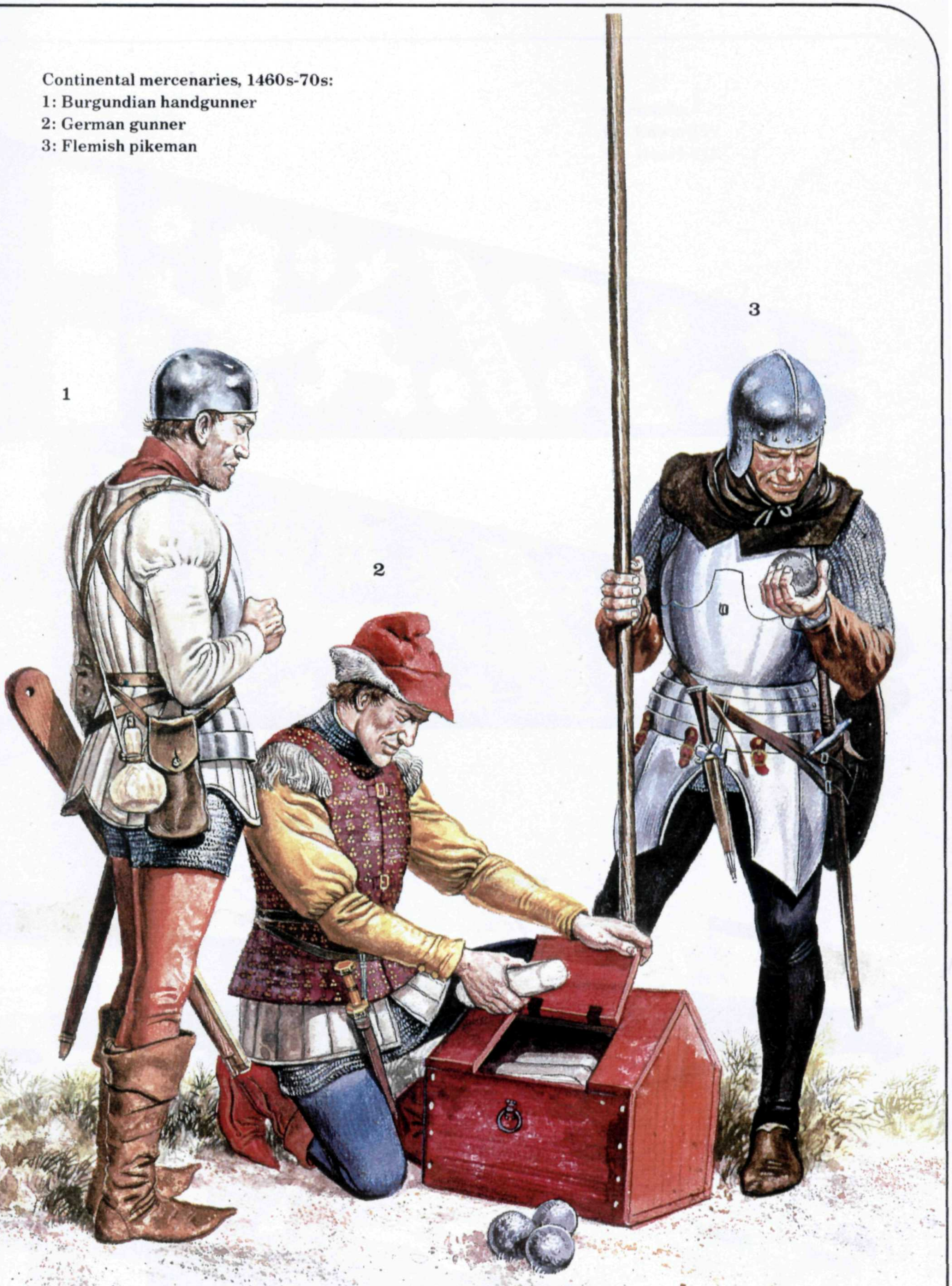


Footsoldiers, 1450s-60s:
1,2: Crossbowmen
3: Soldier with firepot
4: Longbowman

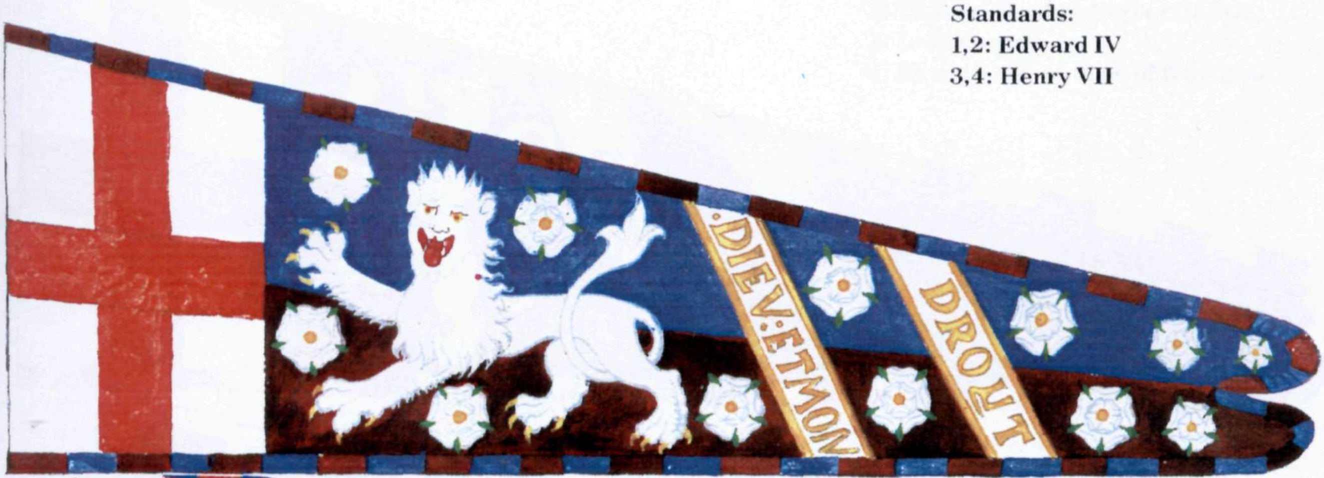
Footsoldiers, 1460s-70s:
1: Billman
2: Longbowman
3: Halberdier



Continental mercenaries, 1460s-70s:
1: Burgundian handgunner
2: German gunner
3: Flemish pikeman



Standards:
1,2: Edward IV
3,4: Henry VII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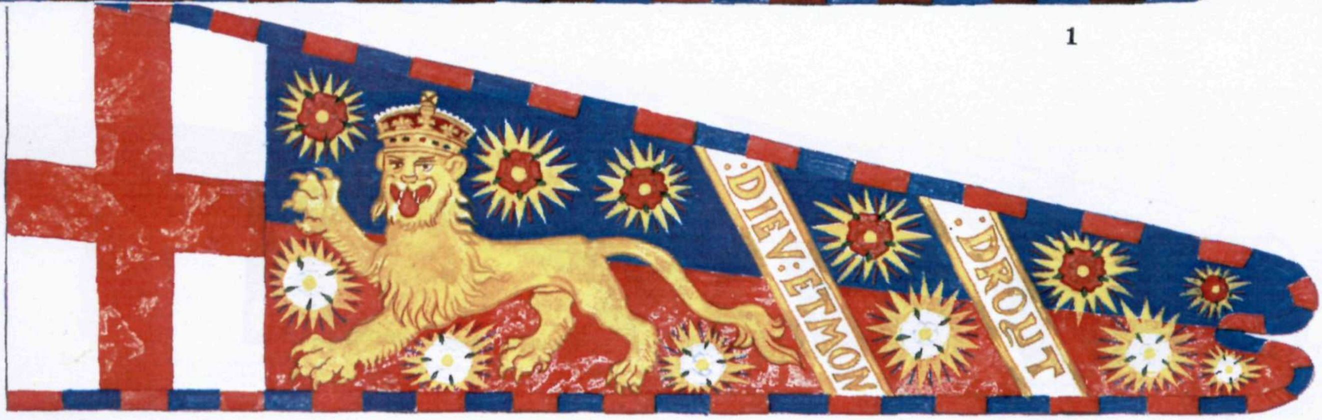
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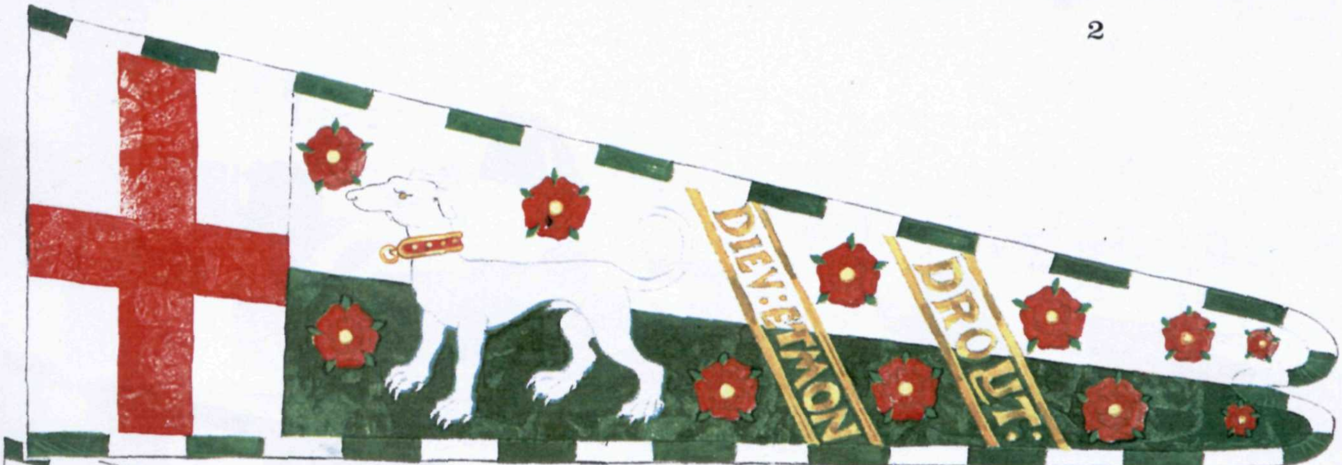
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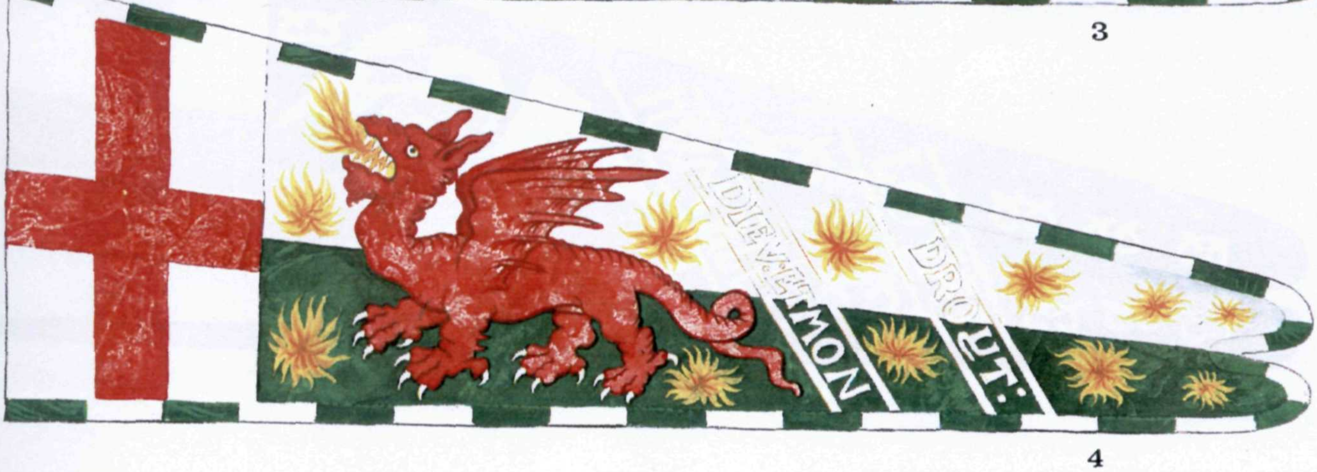
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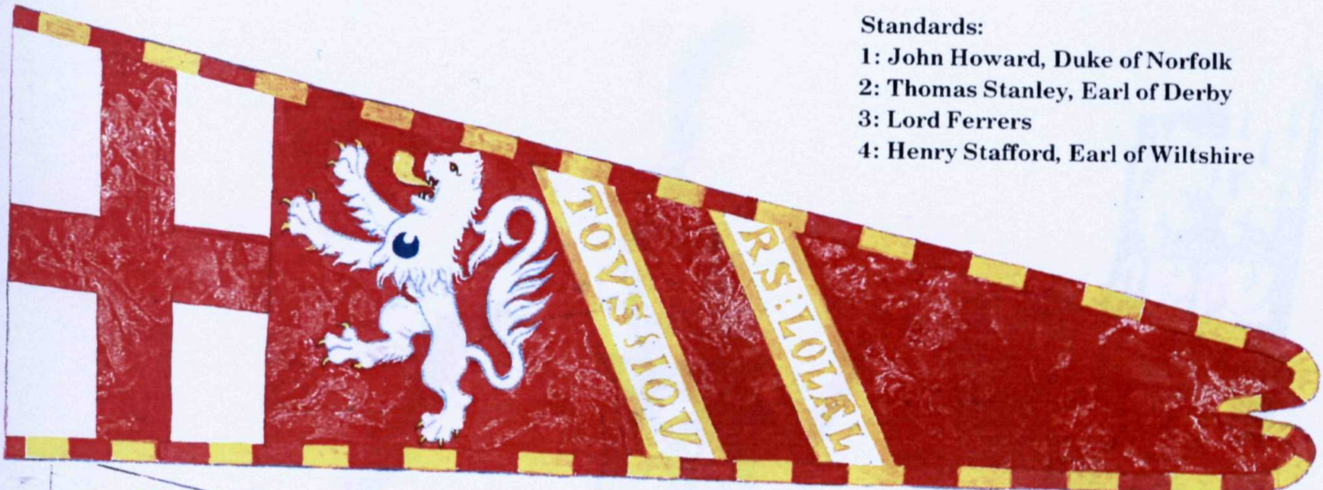
Standards:
1: John Howard, Duke of Norfolk
2: Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby
3: Lord Ferrers
4: Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire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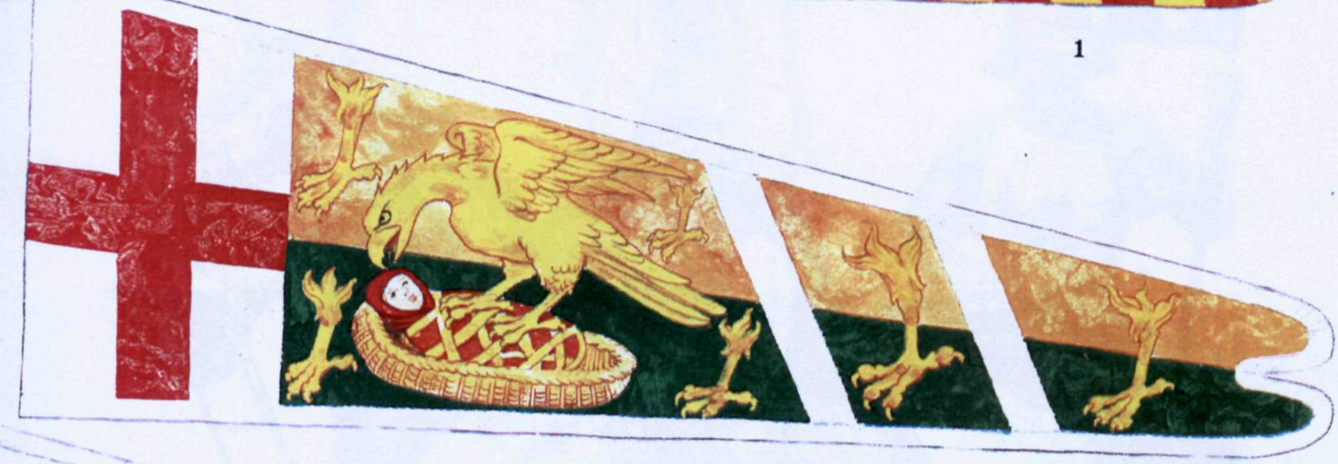

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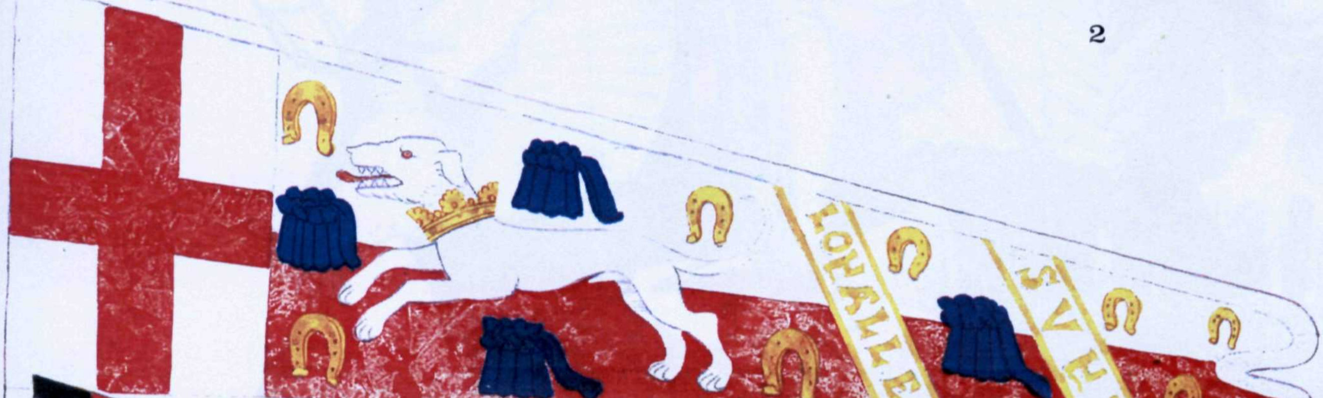
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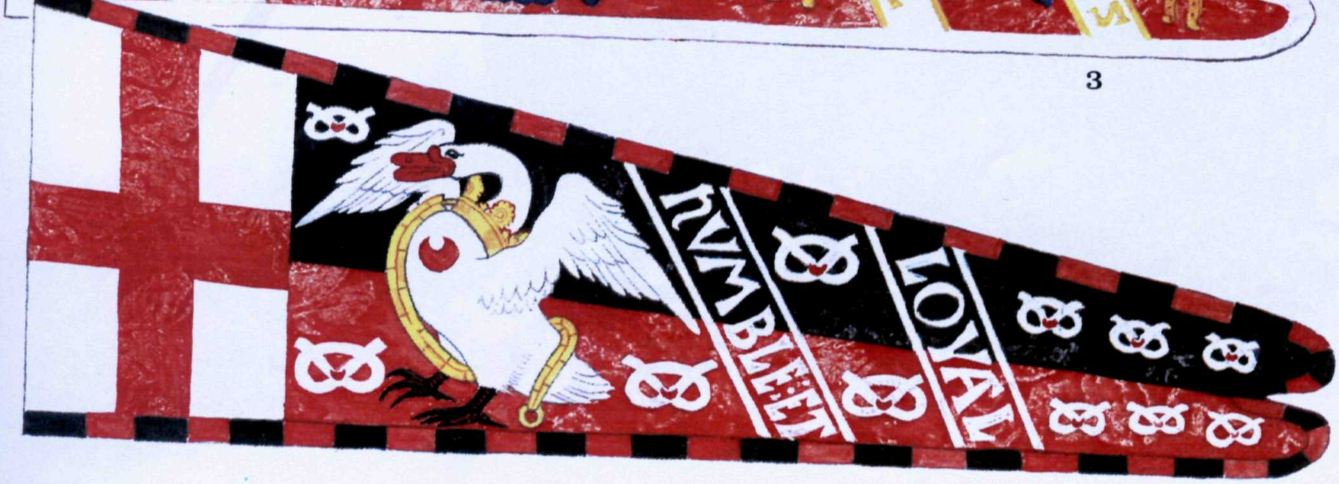
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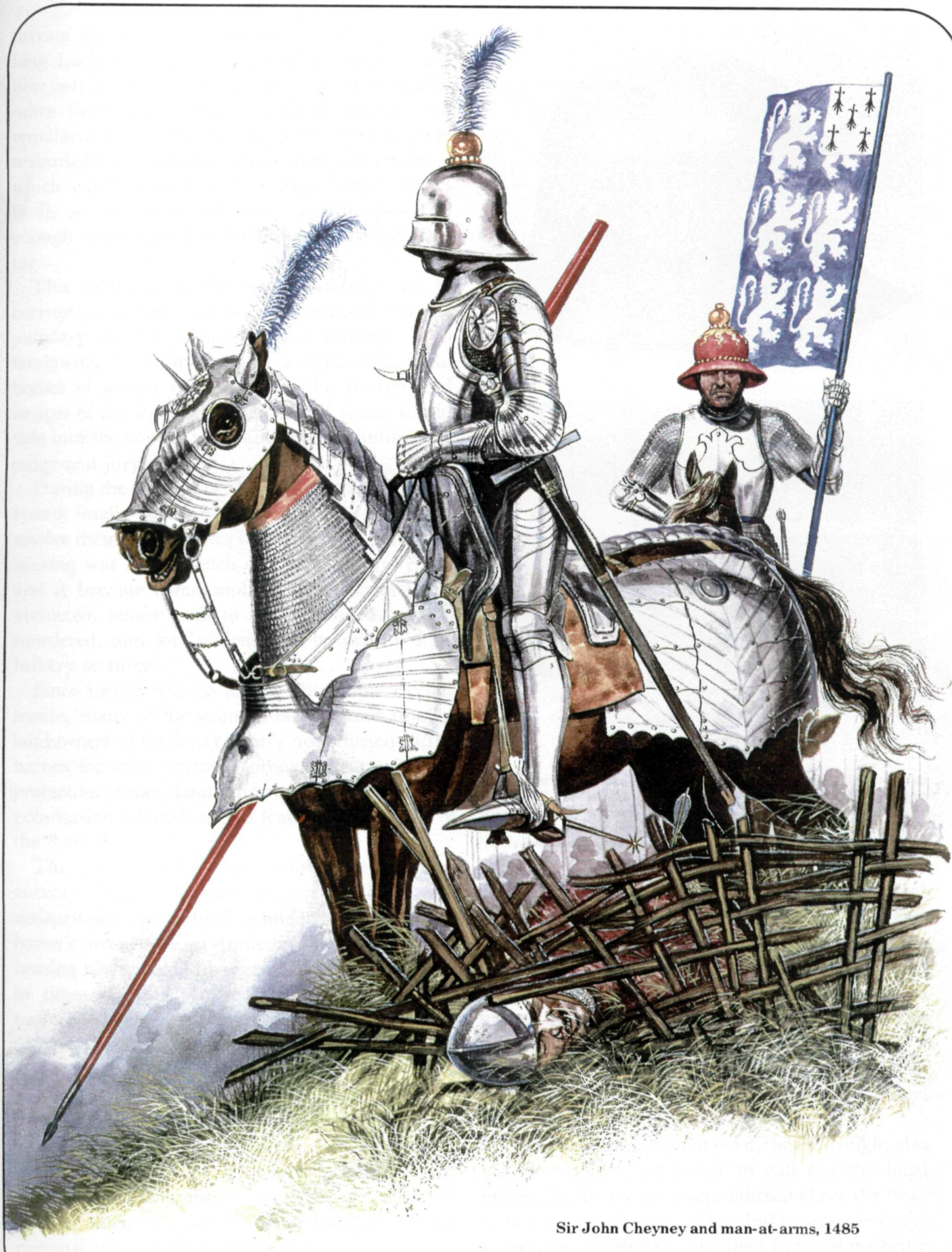

Sir John Cheyney and man-at-arms, 1485